

IN THESE TIMES



Harrisburg
reactions

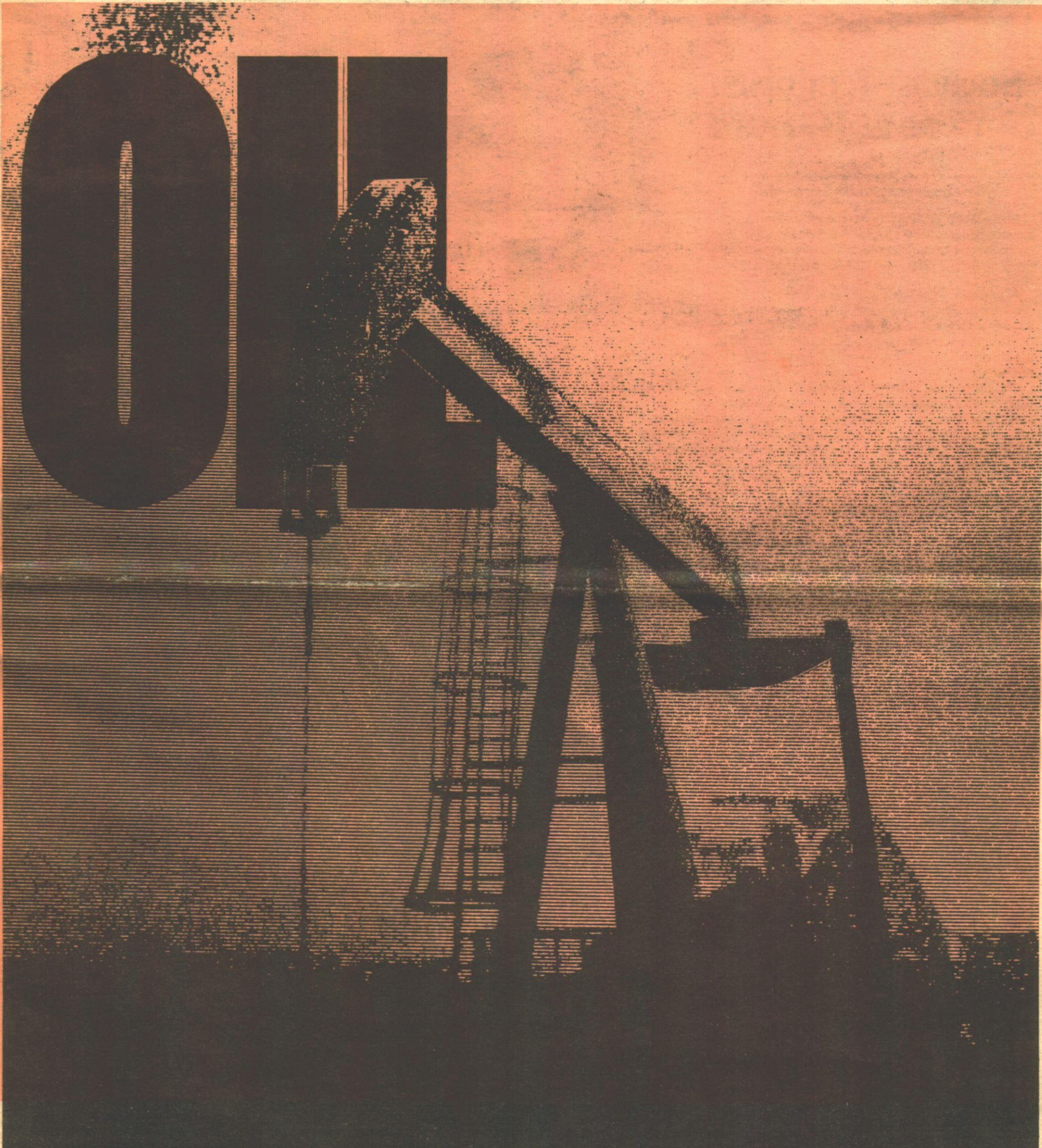
SNY

Allan Koss

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PLUS

A report from Alabama's death row
Wilfred Burchett reports from Vietnam
Michael Harrington looks toward 1980

THE INSIDE STORY

Socialist-feminists convene at Harvard

By Florence Hamlish Levinsohn

Many women calling themselves socialist-feminists are struggling to find a definition for that term. They are both socialists and feminists, but how the two words mesh to form a clear statement of political identity is elusive.

A conference the week of April 7, organized in four short weeks mostly by a small group of undergraduate women at Harvard, didn't move the more than 300 participants much closer to a definition. But it did provide a wide open forum for a variety of women to explore the issue.

The conference, billed as Women and Social Justice, but clearly socialist in its approach, had been germinating at Harvard-Radcliffe and among women in the national office of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) for more than a year. Finally, the coordinated efforts of the Cambridge group and DSOC produced a meeting far beyond the dreams of the organizers. People came from all over the Northeast, hungry for talk about socialist-feminist perspectives.

Throughout the two days of the conference at Harvard, there was a continuous pull between theory and practice.

"I've had it with these debates," Barbara Ehrenreich, a representative of the New American Movement and author of *For Her Own Good*, told a workshop on socialist-feminist theory. "There is no reason to be pledged to an orthodoxy in these changing times. This is not a time to say back to the books. We have to forge a politics that makes sense for the '80s."

Ehrenreich's call to political action was echoed regularly throughout the meetings by Deborah Meier, national vice-chair of DSOC, Ruth Messinger, New York City Councilwoman, Jo Freeman, author of *The Politics of Women's Liberation*, all long-time activists, and others. But the mood of the audience was ambivalent. The calls for hard political strategies to combat anti-abortion forces, inflation, defense spending, to form coalitions with the poor, with welfare recipients and the elderly by the major speakers at the meetings were greeted enthusiastically. But when the predominantly young, white middle class audience was asked to choose workshops following the major speeches, they overwhelmingly chose the theory workshops on both Saturday and Sunday.

And, as has been true since the early '60s, the yearning for a theory that can underpin political action went largely unsatisfied. While Ehrenreich was forced to back down on her denunciation of theory to say that what she meant was being tied to the orthodoxy of the past, the other panelists, Meier, and Marlene Fried, also from NAM, talked more about the necessity for a theory than about any theory itself.

Their remarks about the need for a theory, however, were placed strongly in the context of political action, which prompted Eunice Lipton, a New York art historian, to open the discussion by saying, "There is no action without theory. It is important," she said, "for women to make theory because men have always done it and we feel diminished if we don't do it. While feminism and socialism do overlap, they are different and we have to find the means to unite them in a working theory."

A Boston area activist, Lise Vogel, told Ehrenreich, "Out of our fear of orthodoxy we chose ignorance."

Without ever elucidating anything resembling a theoretical position, however, the women moved from Ehrenreich's opening remarks that she was through with such debates to Fried's remark that "If you don't think about why you are out there on the streets, you might wind up on the wrong street."

There was, in other words, a strong feeling that this is, indeed, a time to return to the books, to learn about political theory, to forge rather than a politics for the '80s, a theory to guide that politics. One long-time socialist,

Myra Tanner Weiss, who ran for mayor of Los Angeles on the Socialist Workers Party ticket in the '40s, described how her little socialist-feminist group in New York has decided to formulate a theory before they begin to undertake any political action, except, "of course," she said, "for the usual demonstrations."

But the usual demonstrations, most of the major speakers said, are not enough. New forms of political action have to be devised, was the urgent message of all the major speakers, though the forms they proposed were often worlds apart.

While Messinger and Meier called for coalitions and electoral politics, Ehrenreich warned of the dangers of coalitions, of their diluting effects. "Politics has begun to be defined as defensive," she said. "We become invisible when we dilute our work with coalitions."

It was difficult to imagine the proposed merger of NAM and DSOC listening to Meier and Ehrenreich debate the strengths and weaknesses of coalition politics.



Left to right: Deborah Meier, Jo Freeman, Ruth Messinger, Barbara Ehrenreich

"Where is the left flank that calls for more radical solutions?"

In response to Ehrenreich, Meier told the audience, "There are times when we are on the defensive. There are times when mere survival is crucial. The risks we take in working in coalitions are as nothing beside the risks we take in not making them."

But the audience was divided in its support. Strong denunciations of Meier's statement that she would support Ted Kennedy should he run for president were countered by remarks about the efficacy of electoral politics, particularly at the local level.

More dramatic, for left politics, was the suggestion by Jo Freeman that the left begin to learn the tactics of the right. She contrasted politics on the inside of the system with that on the outside.

"We need to learn how to lobby, how to pressure our representatives with the same force as the right," she said, drawing on her experience of the past year working on Capitol Hill. "There's nothing your representatives like better than seeing you," she said. "And we should be seen there in equal numbers with the right."

In a style reminiscent of the black ministers she listened to in the '60s, Freeman preached a lengthy sermon denouncing equal opportunity as far short of the goal of the women's movement. She denounced protective legislation for women as being based on the idea of female dependency, an idea that, she said, "must be challenged."

In an economic analysis of the conditions of women, she said, "The primary requirement for poverty today is to have a woman as head of the household."

Freeman proposed six policies that, she said, would enable us to move beyond the concept of equal opportunity. The policies stressed job integration by race and sex, equal pay for work of equal value, equitable distribution of the cost of economic downturn and a restructuring of unemployment benefits, publicly funded child care, alternative work schedules, and readjustment of

working hours to allow women to maintain both work and family.

But Freeman's call for a new approach to socialist-feminist politics that includes the more traditional forms fell largely like a lead balloon, as did her other prong: "Where are the crazies? Where is the left flank that calls for the most radical solutions that push the more centrist organizations further to the left while also legitimizing them in their own positions. With the absence of the left flank," Freeman said, "NOW, never very far to the left, has moved steadily further to the right."

Complaints about NOW were reiterated by Messinger and Ehrenreich, who talked about the failure of that organization to respond to the needs of the poor. Messinger, in fact, went so far as to describe NOW's present situation as being a danger to the left from the left that can be equated with the dangers from the right.

Messinger's closing speech calling for coalitions with the poor, welfare women and the elderly, dramatized

the ambivalence of the conference. There was a strong resistance to the quietism of recent years, but also a distrust of popular politics.

Most of the young women I talked to were thrilled, simply, to be able to "come out of isolation," to find other like-minded women to talk with and to listen to those of wider experience.

The conference was much better attended than was expected. About half were students and about a quarter were men. While those attending were happy to be out of their isolation, they were not eager for the broad-based politics for which most of the speakers were calling. By the end of the conference, Messinger's speech, entitled "Building Coalitions to Defeat the Anti-Feminist Assault," brought out fewer than had attended any of the previous general meetings.

Most people came to this conference to explore the possibilities of a socialist-feminist perspective, not knowing exactly what to expect. The absence of a coherent left in the late '70s has created a situation in which, with only very hasty preparations by people who had never organized a conference before, more than 300 responded. They applauded loudly when Meier told them that her experiences over the past 30 years lead her to look forward to the '80s with hopeful anticipation.

While there was obviously a tone of introspection at the conference, there was also a mood of optimism that was not dampened by the many forecasts of despair based on the incursions of the "new right." In fact, a workshop entitled "The New Right's Attack on Women" drew only about 40 people, while in the next room about 150 were discussing, for the second day, the need for socialist-feminist theory.

Despite the enthusiastic responses to calls for one or another kind of political action, the real success of the conference lay in its intuitive response to the needs of people to understand to what end they should be active. ■

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IN THE NATION

CRUDE PRICING

An \$11 billion a year oil price increase

By David Moberg

WITH HIS PHASED ELIMINATION of price controls on U.S. crude oil, Carter has brought his energy policy to a new low point. Already an ineffective and inequitable program that drives up prices unnecessarily and enriches the multinational oil companies at the expense of American workers, the Carter policy of oil decontrol will mean that the OPEC cartel will set U.S. oil prices.

Not counting any additional price hikes due to inflation or OPEC, decontrol will generate nearly \$27 billion in before-tax profits for the oil companies between now and 1982, then yield an annual \$11 billion bonus for the years to come. That profit will be realized at the expense of the real purchasing power of most Americans, hitting the poorest hardest.

"There are two rationales for decontrol," economist Gar Alperovitz of the Exploratory Project on Economic Alternatives explains, "and neither one has any evidence behind it."

In theory, higher prices should discourage consumption. But nobody, not even industry or government representatives who support decontrol, predicts much of a savings. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that demand will drop by about 300,000 barrels a day by 1985. The U.S. now uses around 17 million barrels a day, importing nearly half.

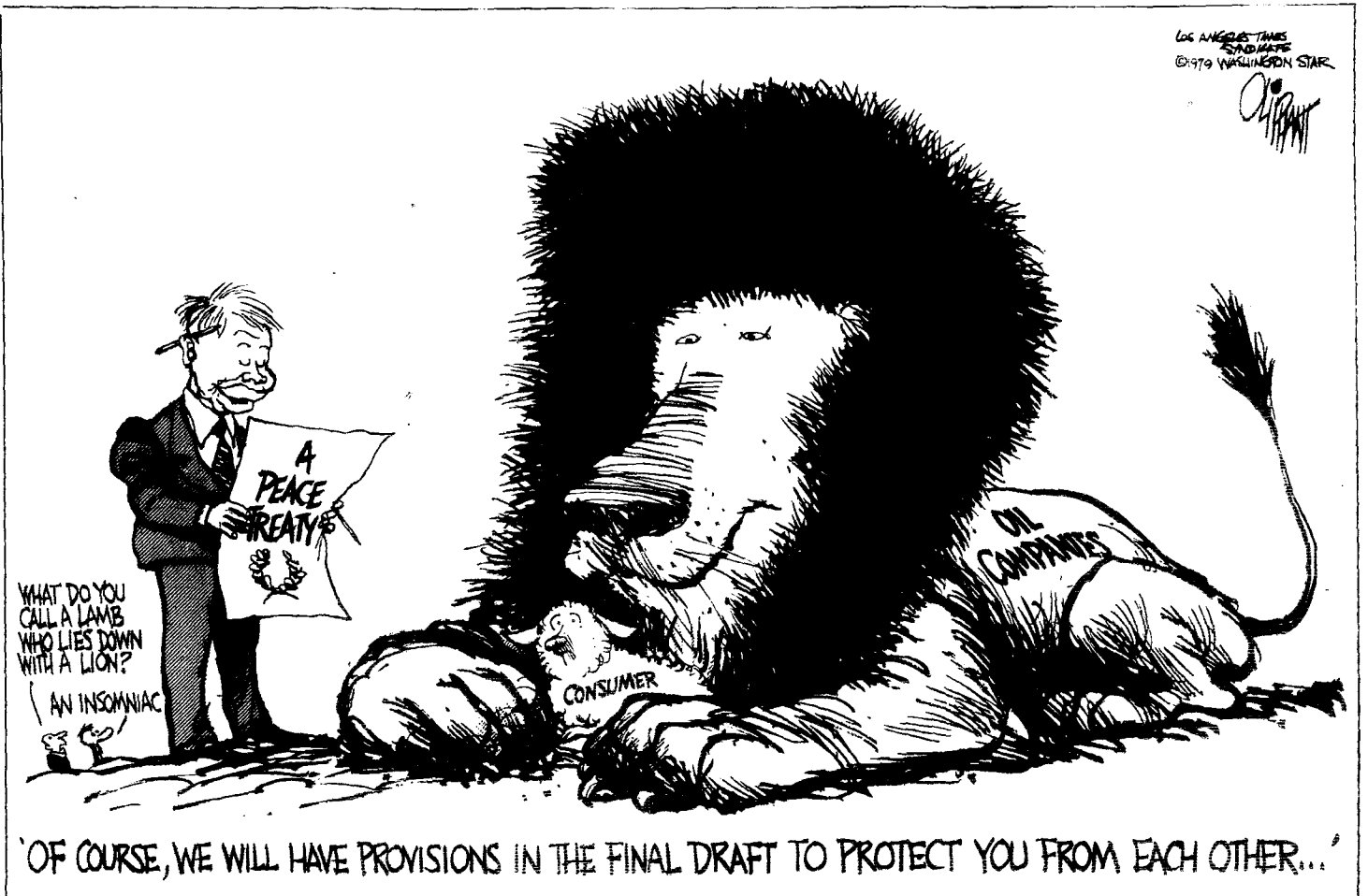
Energy use, especially for individual consumers, is highly inelastic in relation to demand, especially in the short run. Even over a number of years, individual consumer demand is likely to drop no more than 10 percent for a 100 percent increase in price. Also, consumers have had no opportunity to respond to the two recent OPEC increases or the gasoline price increase resulting from an administration "tilt" of existing gasoline controls.

In theory, as well, higher prices should encourage exploration and new production. But the oil industry is now rolling in money, investing much of it in enterprises that have nothing to do with oil development. A recent study for the Department of Energy concluded that the companies needed no further incentive to explore, but it said nothing, of course, about how much they would like to have if they could get it.

Again, the Congressional Budget Office study estimates that decontrol will lead to an additional 200,000 barrels of oil a day by 1982, then possibly declining. Using those figures, Energy Action calculated the marginal cost of each new barrel of oil brought in through the stimulus of decontrol. The cost of that new production will be not the OPEC price of around \$16 a barrel, nor the current domestic average of \$5.50 a barrel, but rather an astonishing \$255 a barrel.

Consequently, there is little chance that decontrol will reduce oil imports significantly, or lessen U.S. dependency on overseas oil.

So why did Carter do it? He had the authority to act by the end of May to change controls, which otherwise were scheduled to end in 1981. Although he had many options, the administration discussion tended to focus only on the way in which to decontrol, not whether controls should be lifted. None of his critics claim to comprehend fully what Carter was thinking, especially since it is likely to be a "politically crazy" move, according to Barbara Shalton of the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition. Nobody will love Jimmy for raising gasoline prices 15 to 20



cents a gallon by 1981 from crude oil decontrol alone, in addition to the other inflationary pressures upward.

Here are some of the explanations offered for this craziness:

- The evil influence of energy secretary James Schlesinger, a longtime apologist for the industry viewpoint and the wisdom of the "free market," won out. (Never mind that the oil industry is an oligopoly wedded to a cartel and that prices are administered, not set by competition. Never mind that the original Carter/Schlesinger national energy plan denounced decontrol of oil prices in strong terms: "There is little or no basis for the assertion that the only reasonable price for all domestic production is the world oil price." Besides, the Crude Oil Equalization Tax would have effectively taxed "windfall profits" at a 100 percent rate, not the 50 percent—on part of the profits—that Carter has now proposed.)

- Higher oil prices make nuclear power, coal liquefaction/gasification and other big oil alternative technologies more economically attractive. (The point, however, should be to develop renewable alternatives that yield energy at as low a cost as possible.)

- Carter's commitment last year at Bonn to raise U.S. oil prices and cut consumption may have weighed heavily. (Yet the other countries have not kept their part in that dubious deal that was never subjected to democratic review. In any case, the rate of growth of oil consumption has been slowed down in recent years, according to the Department of Energy, without decontrol.)

- The old appeal to national security, always good for obscuring debate, is a reason, but it is more for public consumption than a reflection of real thinking of the government. (Former Continental oil economist Paul Davidson argues that Carter's decontrol is actually a continuation of a policy of tolerating OPEC as a way of maintaining the stability of conservative regimes in the Mideast, where oil companies still profit handsomely; for example, Exxon made 45 percent of its before-tax profits in 1974 from Saudi Arabia.)

- Bowling to Europeans, Japanese and OPEC countries, Carter may have acted to strengthen the dollar, whose slide contributes to the upward spiral of oil prices,

the shrinkage in value of other countries' dollar reserves and instability of international trade. (But decontrol could hurt the dollar, by increasing domestic inflation, as much as it could help it. Also, imports of oil are not in themselves a real threat to the dollar, according to Brookings Institution senior fellow Robert Solomon, if the OPEC money is spent or invested in the U.S. In any case, oil imports will be cut significantly through decontrol only indirectly, by inducing a recession. Such a recession—along with the redistribution of U.S. wealth from consumers to the oil companies—could strengthen the dollar if it trimmed inflation. However, it could do that only by taking a deep, prolonged toll.)

The same old arguments.

The oil decontrol rationale, in any case, sounds too much like the administration argument last year for natural gas deregulation. After crying of a gas shortage and switching industries from gas to coal, the administration immediately after deregulation was approved admitted that there was a gas "glut" and now it is asking industries using oil to switch to gas. Earlier this year, Schlesinger took advantage of the Iranian production cutbacks to create an oil shortage scare, but studies by the House energy and power subcommittee, the CIA and some Department of Energy officials subsequently concluded that there was—and is—no crude oil shortage; last year there was indeed a glut.

Gas deregulation was also supposed to strengthen the dollar, which plummeted shortly after Congress acted, to be saved only by extraordinary government intervention in the money markets and restrictive policies at home. Will oil decontrol have the same effect?

Oil decontrol is the heart of Carter's new energy message. Decontrol starts with newly discovered oil and marginal wells. Then it applies to wells with special techniques, followed on Jan. 1, 1980, by gradual decontrol of both "lower tier" or "old" oil and "new" oil now selling for around \$13. Carter has gussied up this measure with a number of other proposals, some stressing conservation and solar or other renewable technologies, including wood stoves, all of which are intended to make the bitter pill palatable.

Having given the oil companies "windfall profits," he could then turn around and denounce them, trying to gain political mileage with tough talk about an excess profits tax. Even if it can get past Russell Long, the tax would probably be riddled with loopholes and is in any case not a great threat to the industry. One oil executive said it was best for industry not to fight the tax, since "we're getting almost everything we've been asking for anyway."

Starting in 1980 the excess profits tax would be fed into an Energy Security Fund, yielding, according to Carter, \$10 billion in the first two years. It would provide funds for assistance of up to \$100 for low-income households hurt by the price hikes, for mass transit and for research and development of nuclear, fossil fuel, solar and other technologies.

Even if the tax and fund are approved, they will not compensate the poor for damage done. The Fuel Marketing Advisory Committee last week revealed that in 1978 alone consumers lost \$8 billion in purchasing power due to energy price increases above the rate of inflation. The 15 million low-income households (\$7,750 annual earnings for a family of four) spent a budget-breaking average of 33.2 percent of their income on household energy, and median income households spent 9.6 percent.

The situation will only get worse.

Decontrol will worsen this situation. Lester Thurow, economics professor at MIT, calculated that if energy prices in 1976 had been allowed to rise to world levels, the overall inflationary impact would have cut the standard of living of the median American consumer by 6 percent, that of the bottom 10 percent by 17 percent and that of the upper 10 percent by only 3 percent (and they would also be the ones likely to receive "offsetting income" from oil company profits).

Without taking into account decontrol, the Fuel Marketing Advisory Committee found a need now for a \$3.2 billion program providing up to \$500 per low-income family. Committee member Tony Maggione consequently calls Carter's proposal "absolutely inadequate, not even beginning to reach the problem."

Continued on page 14.



THE NUCLEAR FALLOUT

Nuke industry faces big test

WASHINGTON

It couldn't have happened at a worse time for the nuclear power industry. Just when it was in a tailspin over a major motion picture depicting a nuclear plant accident, the shutdown of five reactors because of earthquake potential, and official repudiation of a long-standing reactor safety report, the ultimate setback occurred.

The accident at the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant near Harrisburg, Pa., has created a crescendo of anti-nuclear feeling in Washington and around the nation. Some think it represents the turning point for the anti-nuclear movement, providing it with new credibility and political clout.

But is it the beginning of the end for the multi-billion dollar nuclear industry?

"This is a watershed event. Political support for nuclear power is absolutely crumbling," says Peter Franchot of the anti-nuclear Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS).

His UCS colleague, Robert Pollard, a former official of the federal Nuclear Reg-

ulatory Commission (NRC), is skeptical. "I'm not sure it's a turning point as far as the politicians are concerned," he said.

The industry's trade organization predictably foresees light at the end of the tunnel. "We'll feel it for a long time," says Scott Peters of the Atomic Industrial Forum (AIF), "but it's not going to kill the industry."

With the crisis still fresh, the mood on Capitol Hill last week was decidedly bleak for the nuclear industry. "If there were a vote on the floor of the House today to can every nuclear plant, it would probably carry," said Rep. Christopher H. Dodd, (D-CN).

The argument that nuclear power poses an acceptable risk is likely to be the basis of the nuclear industry's inevitable public relations blitzkrieg. But what really concerns the public policy makers in Washington, and the likely reason that there will not be an immediate winding down of nuclear energy, is that for the time being at least, the American appetite for power is not being met by other technologies. "For the immediate future, the question of our energy independence raises serious questions whether we can do away with nuclear in our energy mix for the next decade," said Dodd.

—Elise Vider

If only they had inspected

Inspectors charged by the state of Pennsylvania with ensuring the safety of nuclear components inside the Three Mile Island plant missed a monthly inspection only two weeks before mechanical failure crippled the plant. A high level inspector in Ohio said that the inspection could have averted the accident.

On Feb. 17, an independent inspection for the state of Pennsylvania and for insurance companies covering the Three Mile Island nuclear facility found that open valves on the emergency pumping system that should have been closed may have contributed to the March 28 accident, according to Julius Claar, chief inspector for the Boiler Division of the Department of Labor in Harrisburg.

The Feb. 17 inspection was performed by licensed inspectors from Hartford Steam Boiler company for American Nuclear Insurers of Farmington, Conn., who had insured the facility. (Claar automatically received a copy of the inspection report. The NRC was unaware of the report.)

During routine maintenance by Metro-

politan Edison Company two weeks before the accident, the valves were closed, NRC engineer Darell Eisenhut disclosed last week. Babcock and Wilcox and American Nuclear declined comment.

Several sources said that although a regular monthly inspection was due about March 17, none was performed before the March 28 accident. Had this inspection been performed, the closed valves would have been discovered.

The NRC also admitted that test runs on the Harrisburg plant late last year showed cooling systems problems nearly identical to those that set off the crisis. State Inspector Claar said that he had not received any correspondence from NRC on these test runs. The apparent lack of communication, sloppy maintenance and lax inspection procedures raise questions about the system of monitoring the safety of nuclear plants. The NRC's inspection staff is limited. The federal agency has come to rely, according to some state inspectors, on "audits" of inspections performed by independent engineers following codes developed by insurance companies, NRC, utilities and builders like Babcock and Wilcox.

Richard Jagger, chief inspector for Ohio who oversees B&W's Davis Besse plant, said, "All valves are to be tested on a frequent basis and the valves at Three Mile Island should have been tested by [independent] inspectors on a monthly basis. I should qualify my remarks. I'm not blaming anybody. But the code spells this out and it apparently was not done." Inspector Claar said, "If we found [the valves] in an improper position, an accident could have been prevented."

Rules for the in-service inspection of nuclear power plant components are written by the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, an independent New York-based organization. The rules are enforced—and in some cases revised—by an interlocking group called the Uniform Boiler and Pressure Vessel Laws Society based in Hartford, Conn. Although ASME rules have been adopted in 34 states (and exclude some states with Babcock and Wilcox plants), separate NRC rules are written in cooperation with ASME and are virtually identical. Uniform Boiler Society chairman Walter Parker explained, "It doesn't matter whether states approve ASME or not because the NRC still governs and says plants must comply with ASME rules."

Peculiarly, the list of officials on the Uniform Boiler Society include some Babcock and Wilcox officials. Paul Brister, manager of central technology for B&W's Power Generation Group, is listed as a council officer involved in research and development. Another B&W official, L.W. Yoder, is listed as secretary of the society.

"We [B&W] live by the code," Bister told the *Iron Age* magazine in January 1977, "for our boiler, pressure vessel and nuclear steam supply business. Even when the code construction is not a specification requirement, our company standards require code construction as a minimum."

But the NRC confirmed last week that one of its inspectors raised questions early this year about the safety of vital cooling systems in all nine B&W plants, including the one in Harrisburg.

Last Aug. 9, an official from B&W said in a letter to Toledo Edison Company that a severe and unexpected change in the temperature of the Rancho Seco reactor in California might indicate problems for the Ohio reactor.

Continued on page 18.

NRC covers up radiation effects

By Ernest Sternglass

(© 1979 Pacific News Service)

The Harrisburg nuclear power plant accident may have exposed about a million people to up to 130 times more radiation than the government has reported. And the effects will be far more serious and long-lasting than the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) has so far acknowledged.

The NRC reported only the external gamma radiation doses received from passing clouds of radioactive gases. It failed to calculate the total and most damaging dose received by organs and bones from inhalation of fission gases. NRC's claim that pure xenon and some traces of iodine 131 were the only radioactive gases released is also misleading and unproven.

The government did not measure the precise composition of the radioactive steam that escaped into the atmosphere at the start of the Harrisburg disaster.

But there is every reason to believe that the escaped steam contained many radioactive chemicals normally produced by fission. The NRC's Dr. Allen Brodsky, an expert in the field, lists 21 such elements.

Gases inhaled from clouds of radioactive steam produce a dose about 130 times greater than that from external gamma radiation, according to Brodsky. He bases this calculation on data from earlier nuclear accidents and during nuclear bomb tests carried out in the '50s and '60s.

The NRC says that maximum accumulated doses were 80 millirems in the week following the Harrisburg accident, but true maximum doses to the lung may have been as much as 10,000 millirems. Doses to bones from elements including Strontium 89 and 90, which are decay products of the rare gas krypton, are about 30 times greater than what is

absorbed by external gamma radiation.

Strontium 90 was not only released during the accident, but is also emitted during normal operations of nuclear power plants, as are cesium 137, berium 140 and larger amounts of xenon and other, chemically inert gases. Official publications of the NRC list these elements among annual radioactive releases into air and water.

Krypton and xenon are the most common radioactive fission products. The NRC has told the public the emissions contained mostly these inert gases which do not necessarily produce the greatest biological damage. However, official statements have generally failed to point out that these elements decay into more hazardous materials, including cesium, berium and strontium.

Strontium 90 has been regarded by the scientific community as the most toxic of all fission products of nuclear testing. It collects in the bones and can cause cancer and leukemia. It has a half-life of about 30 years and, like other radioactive isotopes produced in the fission process, lingers and builds up in soil. It may present a hazard in food grown near Three Mile Island.

In the past few months, however, the NRC has issued new regulations that will no longer make it necessary routinely to report the level of strontium 90 in local soil and milk.

Failure to consider strontium 90 and other decay products emitted during the Harrisburg accident is a coverup of the damage done. It is further evidence that the NRC is primarily concerned with protecting the nuclear industry.

The health hazard has also been discounted by other federal officials. Last week, Joseph A. Califano Jr., Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, told the Senate health subcommittee that leaked radiation was not expected to cause a single cancer death among the people living within 50 miles of the plant.

Yet even using only the external dosages that the NRC has reported—2 millirems to a population of about a million within 50 miles of the plant—between 0.5 and 50 cancer deaths can be expected, according to Dr. Karl Z. Morgan, former director of the Oak Ridge National Laboratory's health civics division.

But if the unreported exposure from inhalation is also considered, 300 to 2,500 cancers may develop in the next ten to 20 years. Other health effects can be expected to include genetic defects, and physical and mental retardation among the newborn.

Officials have repeatedly compared radiation doses at Harrisburg to those received during dental x-rays. This is a completely deceptive attempt to minimize the exposure. A dental x-ray is confined to a couple of inches of relatively insensitive area. At Three Mile Island, the whole body is exposed. Furthermore, the dental x-ray is over in a fraction of a second while the inhalation of strontium 90 will irradiate the bone and marrow for many decades after the individual has been exposed. It will also affect an infant developing in the mother's womb, possibly years later. This is not true of dental x-rays.

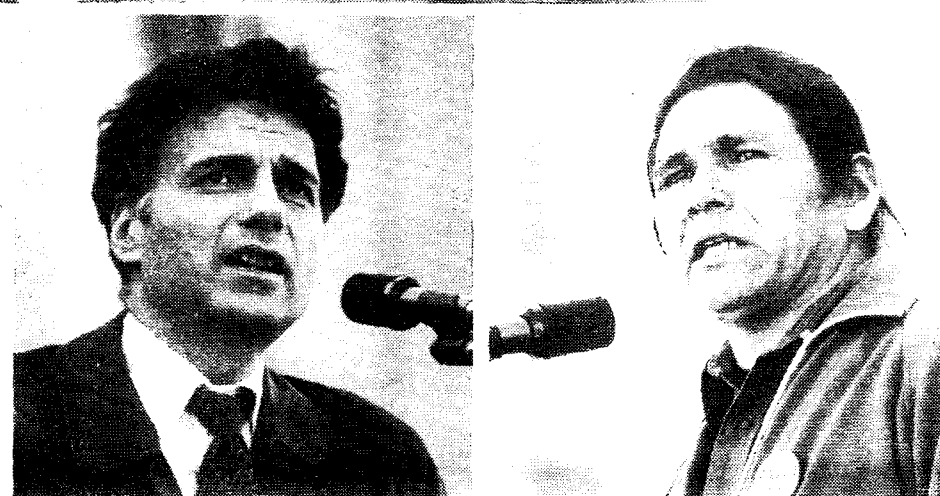
The Harrisburg health hazard is far from over. There will be continued emission of radioactive gases from the plant over many months and possibly years as radioactivity is removed from the plant.

To protect the population, we should insist that all animals that produce food or milk be fed imported seed and hay until the full extent of the contamination is established. This should continue for some time while rain washes radioactive elements deeper into the soil and into rivers and ocean and diminishes the levels in grass that serves as local feed.

Ernest Sternglass is a professor of radiological physics at the University of Pittsburgh School of Medicine and the author of *Low Level Radiation* (Ballantine).



Lone Deservingne



Pat Goudvis

Demonstrations around the country (clockwise): In New York, the April 6 rally; in Groton, Conn., at the site of the Trident submarine launching where the policeman pictured is offering his hand to assist a guest of the Navy's to walk on the demonstrators on his way in to the launching; Ralph Nader (left) and Dennis Banks address the San Francisco rally shown below.



Pat Goudvis

Protesters sweep nation

Demonstrations swept the nation in the wake of the Three Mile Island nuclear accident, providing visible support for the claims of anti-Nuke activists that a massive movement against nuclear power has just begun.

In San Francisco, April 7, nearly 35,000 jammed into Civic Center Plaza for what Ralph Nader called "the largest anti-nuclear rally ever held in the United States." Singers Jackson Browne, Bonnie Raitt and Joan Baez joined Nader and the Abalone Alliance, sponsors of the rally, to demand that "the nuclear power menace be completely shut down," and, specifically, that plans to open California's Diablo Canyon nuclear plant be halted.

In Los Angeles, 1500 turned out on April 8 while 300 to 400 demonstrated at the state capitol. Smaller demonstrations were reported elsewhere in the West, and a major action is being planned for April 28 at the Rocky Flats, Colo., nuclear weapons facility.

In New York City, not one but a number of demonstrations, called by the Mobilization for Survival and the SEAD Alliance, demanded a moratorium on nuclear power and an end to the nuclear, and non-nuclear arms race. Hundreds organized rallies on March 30 and April 6 brought out about 3500 apiece.

More rallies are planned in New York at the Indian Point plants, (April 10), and at the site of the Shoreham construction, (June 3). Also, Armed Forces Day, (May 19), will see a major demonstration against

all forms of nuclear proliferation, sponsored by the Mobilization.

On April 1, in Boston, the Clamshell Alliance gathered about 3,000 in Boston Common and, on April 4, about 1,000 demonstrated at Boston State College. The Boston Mobilization for Survival is planning a major New England anti-nuclear conference for the weekend of May 19 and 20.

In Philadelphia, about 3,000 at the headquarters of Philadelphia Electric on April 7, while in Harrisburg itself, 1000 turned out for a protest organized by the Three Mile Island Alert, an anti-nuke organization that, as its name implies, existed prior to the accident. Also within the area of the accident, 400 people demonstrated at the headquarters of Metropolitan Edison in Reading, Pa.

In the South, Mississippi held its first anti-nuclear protest, in Iuka, Miss., where 200 marched to the site of the Yellow Creek nuclear plant construction site, a TVA nuclear facility. The newly-formed Mississippi-branch of the Catfish Alliance plans more rallies at the site and in nearby Hattiesburg, a radioactive-waste storage location.

The Oyster Shell Alliance held a rally in New Orleans, at the Louisiana Power and Light headquarters to protest that utility's plans for nuclear plant construction in the area. Other small actions were reported in Atlanta, Georgia, Florida and South Carolina.

—Alan Barnes

SUBMARINES

4,000 protest "Big Bag" launching

By Patrick Lacefield

GROTON, CONN.

TAKE ONE SMALL CONNECTICUT town, heavily dependent on defense work, submarines in particular. Add the latest and most deadly of the Navy's magnum opuses—the Trident sub USS Ohio. Stir in a First Lady to lay the keel, a senator's wife to christen the ship and the Ohio senator—a former astronaut—to utter grave doubts about the wisdom of negotiating arms limitations with the Russians. Then add 12,000 invited guests—Navy personnel, defense workers and their families—to cheer.

Now add upwards of 4,000 disarmament demonstrators, some with banners, some with songs, a couple dozen with chains, fiercely determined to keep the 12,000 from witnessing the spectacle. Toss in a few dissident defense workers and you have the largest disarmament protest in New England history.

April 7 in Groton, Conn.

Not that Groton is any stranger to disarmament protests. Demonstrations here date back to the early 1960s when the Committee for Nonviolent Action initiated "Polaris Action"—an educational and direct action campaign against the naval juggernaut of that time—the Polaris submarine. "Then we counted ourselves fortunate if we had a hundred people outside the gates," Marj Swann of New England AFSC told the demonstrators gathered at Griswold State Park in Groton for the march to the gates of Electric Boat /General Dynamics. "More often than not we numbered ten or 12.

Numbers were not the only difference 20 years made.



Navy youngsters proudly hold pictures of the massive Trident submarine USS OHIO outside the gates of Electric Boat Co.

The Trident Conversion Campaign, a local coalition of peace, religious and environmental groups draw a fair number of local people into the action, including half a dozen Electric Boat (EB) workers. Sue Frankewicz claims to have lived in the Groton area all her 33 years; her father, uncle, brother and husband all have worked at Electric Boat. "We believed that the arms race was necessary and that military spending created jobs," she said at the rally. "Slowly I began to

question these assumptions and finally reject them."

Peter Fisher, a shipfitter at Electric Boat, and Richard Proescher, until recently an industrial radiographer at the plant, also took the microphone at the rally to decry Connecticut's dependence on defense contracts.

Proescher, of nearby Jewett City, was fired from his job on March 7 for allegedly "sleeping on the job." He claims that he was taking a rest during his lunch

break and has filed an appeal through the union, the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers. Proescher has been active in Trident Conversion Campaign work. He criticized the "insanity celebrated inside the gates of EB by those dignitaries who profit financially or politically from the arms race."

Under a banner reading "Humankind must put an end to the arms race or the arms race will put an end to humankind—John F. Kennedy," the protesters began their silent march to Electric Boat. Several hundred veered off to the north gate, a like number continued to the south gate and the remainder lined both sides of the narrow street in front of the main gate.

Guests were already lining up outside the gate waiting to enter for the ceremonies; a charter bus of World War II submarine veterans whizzed by.

A dozen, then several dozen protesters, organized into affinity groups, sat down at the main gate before the watchful eyes of Connecticut state troopers, EB security personnel, and the entire 29-member Groton police force. One affinity group wearing black shrouds to signify death and mourning, chained themselves together across the main gate entrance and sat down. With the guests seeking access to the ceremony, the police began making arrests to clear a path. Snipping chains and handcuffs with a huge pair of wire cutters, police carried the protesters off to jail.

Other affinity groups quickly took positions in front of the gate as the police struggled to clear a path and protesters struggled to block it. Two women in their mid-thirties shouted, "We work in this plant to save our country," and expressed pride in their product. Couldn't the money spent on defense create more jobs if funneled instead into housing or transportation manufacturing, several protesters asked? "Then what would we do if the Soviets come marching in? What good would our jobs be then? they countered.

The Trident is, in truth, anything but defensive. Four stories high, 560 feet long and 18,700 tons in weight, it is the ultimate reflection of the Navy's "big bang" fixation. Trident submarines will carry 24 nuclear delivery vehicles, each equipped with 17 MIRVs (multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles)—408 separate warheads, each with a yield of 75-100 kilotons and capable of striking within 90 feet of its intended target. "That translates into a first-strike strategy—a departure from deterrence and far from a strictly defensive capability," said Charlie King, a spokesman for the Trident Conversion Campaign.

"THE CHINA SYNDROME"

China Syndrome or China Effect—Name given by scientists and engineers to a possible consequence of a reactor fuel meltdown. The fuel would become a molten mass of intensely radioactive material that could burn through the reactor vessel and containment building, continuing into the earth to...China?

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By Tom Gordon

MONTGOMERY, ALA.

ALABAMA'S BRIGHT YELLOW electric chair was used for the first time on April 8, 1927. Through Jan. 15, 1965, three women and 150 men died in its 2,400-volt embrace.

Last week, the man who said he wanted to be No. 154, a 29-year-old Texan named John Louis Evans III, was within six hours of his goal. At that point, U.S. Supreme Court Justice William Rehnquist, responding to a petition filed by Evans' mother, halted the scheduled Friday morning (April 6) execution for a week.

Because of some provisions of Alabama law, Rehnquist's ruling means Evans' execution may be put off much longer than a week. And if Evans consents to further legal efforts on his behalf, his death could be delayed even more.

Without Rehnquist's Thursday night ruling, the Beaumont, Texas, native would have been the first American prison inmate to be executed since Gary Gilmore was shot by a Utah firing squad Jan. 17, 1977.

A high school dropout with an extensive criminal history, Evans says he first showed his criminal potential by stealing money from his family and giving it to his fellow kindergarten students. At age 16, he committed his first robbery.

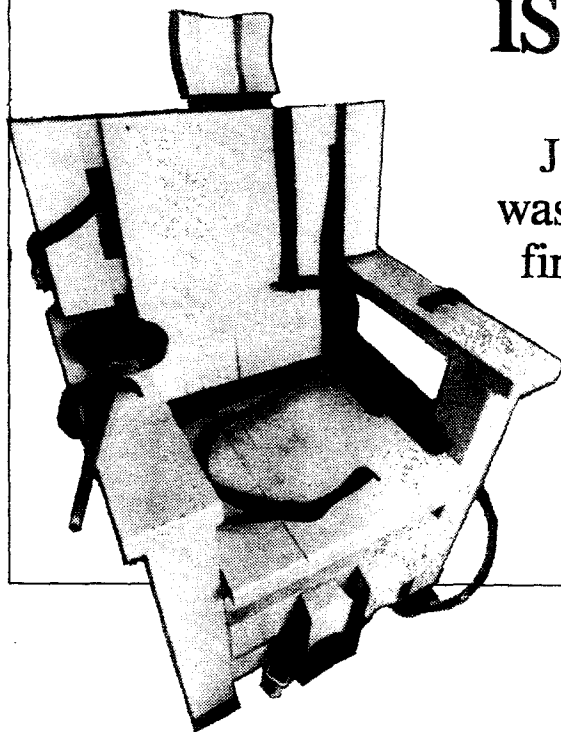
Eleven years later, he embarked on a two-and-a-half-month crime spree that, police said, included 22 robberies, two extortion-kidnappings and the murder of a Mobile pawn shop owner.

Evans and his companion in the spree, Wayne Eugene Ritter, later were arrested and convicted in 1977 of robbery-murder in connection with the killing of the pawn shop owner during a holdup. Evans had fired the shot that killed Edward Nassar, in the presence of Nassar's two young daughters.

Both Evans and Ritter were sent to Holman Prison in south Alabama and put on death row, where inmates are confined to five-by-eight-foot cells, allowed only half an hour of exercise each day and are denied privileges granted inmates elsewhere in the prison. Ritter's death sentence is being appealed, but weeks ago, saying he could no longer tolerate life under prison conditions, Evans told attorneys to stop

DEATH PENALTY

Alabama execution is delayed



John Louis Evans III was scheduled to be the first prisoner executed since Gary Gilmore was shot in Utah in 1977. He also wanted to die.

any efforts on his behalf so that he could die.

"I'll just pay the ticket for all I have done," he said several weeks before his scheduled end. "This is my only option left. I've reached the point where I'm tired of prison conditions, tired of the hassles, tired of the loss of freedom."

As the death date drew near, Evans seemed determined to go. He drew up a will, planned to donate his body for medical research and to receive the last sacraments from his Catholic chaplain. Two prison guards apparently were anticipating his death, too. Evans told a visitor that one of them wanted to have his shoes and that another wanted his watch.

Though some of them doubted Evans would go through with his death, Alabama prison officials prepared for it. They gave the electric chair a fresh coat of paint and made sure guards were more security-conscious. Early last week, they

moved Evans to a holding cell two doors down from the electrocution room and planned to serve him a last meal of steak, potatoes, salad and beer.

At the same time, however, Evans' mother, Betty Evans Dickson, and attorneys from the Montgomery-based Southern Poverty Law Center were seeking to stop his death. They filed a petition in U.S. District Court challenging Alabama's death penalty law and raised the question of whether Evans is mentally competent to make legal decisions on his own.

In response, the state questioned whether Mrs. Dickson could file such an action. The petition was unsuccessful until it reached the U.S. Supreme Court, 15 hours before Evans was to die.

Evans was told of Rehnquist's stay of his execution after he had taken what he thought would be his last shower. He seemed disappointed and cried. But two

days later, he said, through an attorney, that he wanted to be moved out of death row and into the general prison population. He also said he wanted to challenge Alabama's controversial death penalty statute.

The 1975 law, called by critics the "kill-them-or-let-them-go law," has not been ruled upon by the Supreme Court. It applies primarily to murders committed under aggravating circumstances (during a rape or robbery, for example), and critics say it puts too much pressure on a judge and jury.

Historically, many juries have avoided convicting someone of a crime carrying the death penalty, according to Montgomery attorney Morris Dees. But a jury considering the case of someone indicted under the death penalty law cannot find someone guilty of a lesser offense carrying a less severe sentence. It must either issue a guilty verdict—in which the death sentence applies automatically—or find the defendant not guilty. Dees says no other state in the nation has a capital punishment statute in which the jury determines punishment when it determines guilt, and has no leeway to hand out a lesser sentence.

Also under the law, the trial judge can reduce a death sentence—but only to life imprisonment without parole—if there are mitigating circumstances. In effect, the law forces judges to decide whether to commute a sentence—and anger voters—or let it stand. It allows for nothing in between.

Now that his electrocution seems less likely, Evans may see the death statute overturned by the federal courts. He also expects results from a suit filed recently to improve conditions for him and the 41 other inmates confined to Holman Prison's death row. Prison critics charge that poor food, prolonged confinement and other conditions unique to the row "forced" Evans to seek death as a way out.

The state prison system already is under a massive, three-year-old federal court reform order. Recently, with the consent of U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr., Gov. Fob James took control of the system.

James had been asked by Evans' mother to stay her son's death, but he was still weighing a decision when Rehnquist's action was announced.

MASSACHUSETTS

Conservative governor hits new political low

By Sidney Blumenthal

BOSTON

THE WEEK THE THREE MILE ISLAND disaster occurred Massachusetts Gov. Edward J. King issued a vigorous defense of nuclear power as 3000 protesters marched outside the State House. Nuclear power is one of the pet projects of the governor who prides himself on his "can do" attitude, a self-conscious conservative machismo that has already brought his young administration to the edge of ruin. In a time when politicians are widely held in low esteem, Ed King may be the nation's most incompetent governor. *Newsweek* has labeled his administration "Amateur Hour" and the *Washington Post* calls him the "Ray State Blunderbuss."

King was one of the few Democratic conservatives who beat a liberal rival in the primaries to survive the general election last year. Since his inauguration his regime has been a calamity. So far, four of his top appointments have resigned under fire in a chain of events journalists in Boston refer to as "the thing of the month club." Every day seems to bring a new scandal. Last month, when the more than 40 members of the Massachusetts Commission on Women protested his heavy-handed rule, King dismissed them in a single stroke, a gesture typical of his style. He has a way of alienating everyone but

his staunchest backers.

In a way, King represents the coming to power of the kind of Democrat that neo-conservative theorists Ben Wattenberg and Richard Scammon touted in the early '70s in their tract, *The Real America*. Scammon and Wattenberg (who has hosted a neo-conservative television series on public TV) argued that Democrats who stood firmly against permissiveness on "the social issues"—crime, drugs, youthful rebellion—would thrive against Republicans. Scammon and Wattenberg also linked this stand with a rigid anti-Communist foreign policy. This position is typified by Senators Henry Jackson and Daniel Moynihan, both of whom Scammon and Wattenberg advise. Yet in the purely domestic sphere, in which railing against the Soviet Union is quite irrelevant, there haven't been many *Real America* advocates. Enter Ed King.

In his campaign King portrayed himself as a spokesman for the *Real America* (or the silent majority) that supposedly demands Proposition 13-style property tax relief. King offered to cut property taxes by half a billion dollars. He admitted to a reporter late in the race that he made the figure up. Even so, voters elected him. He was seen as a regular Democrat in one of the strongest Democratic states.

King promised a new regime of managerial competence, or "can do" policy. His claim rested on his past record as the dictatorial head of Massport, the public agency that runs Boston's airport. As his

administration shapes up, however, it appears that patronage and cronyism rather than efficiency and productivity are his watchwords. Consider his nominees for state office:

•Stephen Guptill, a television reporter, was named Secretary of Elder Affairs. Newspapers revealed that Guptill had a falsified resume. He claimed degrees from Cambridge and Heidelberg universities. In fact, he was a high school dropout. He was forced to resign.

•Stephen Clifford was nominated as King's Insurance Commissioner. The insurance company that Clifford worked for heavily contributed to King's campaign and suggested to King that Clifford get the top insurance post. When newspaper accounts detailed Clifford's business partnership with a convicted arsonist, for whom Clifford had acted as a straw, he had to resign.

•Tom DiSilva was slated to be an assistant commissioner of the Metropolitan District Commission (MDC), a multi-million dollar agency dealing with roads, recreational areas and waterways. FBI tapes published in newspapers showed that DiSilva is allegedly a business associate of Raymond Patriarca, crime boss of New England. Di Silva quit under pressure.

•John Haggerty was tapped to be head of the MDC. Haggerty is the former head of a union against which many charges of illegal activities were filed by a dissident rank-and-file group; the charges were never thoroughly investigated by state agencies. The leader of the dissident group was murdered, gunned down in a parking lot. The case is still open. When these facts became known publicly Haggerty resigned.

King has attempted to brush aside criticism. The governor said he "regrets" the appointments; he will concede nothing else. But these scandals have immobilized his administration. The media smells blood. King himself disdains and scorns

the press. Their acrimonious relationship recalls Nixon's friction with the media.

On his \$500 million property tax cut, the issue that may break him if he can't deliver, King is having troubles. The budget he has submitted to the legislature falls short of the monumental cut he pledged. His budget also calls for drastic cuts in funding of Aid to Families with Dependent Children. His fiscal plan will encounter very close scrutiny. To the extent he is viewed by other Democrats as a poseur, weakened by his foolish appointments, his problems will increase. Already, powerful Lt. Gov. Tom O'Neill, son of "Tip" O'Neill, has publicly opposed King's welfare plans.

King's big triumph so far was to get the legislature to increase the drinking age to 20. Actually, King wanted it raised to 21. This typifies his worldview. He wants to show what a strict father-figure he can be. Also on his agenda is capital punishment. He's also for more nuclear power plants, off-shore oil drilling and tax breaks for big business.

In public opinion polls King scores very low in popularity in the Boston area. A ripple effect of disapproval apparently hasn't spread to the rest of Massachusetts. He still maintains his core support of regular Democrats, including many blue-collar voters, although the public employees' union, which supported him in November, is in a quandary because of the governor's draconian pronouncements about holding their salaries down.

A movement against King is beginning to emerge, although King is ravaging himself without any outside help. When King begins to move on his issues, public opposition will percolate. He is a neo-conservative mutant, someone the academic neo-conservatives probably will never want to claim as one of their own, although their theories helped make him possible.

IN THE WORLD

NCE



Francois Mitterrand retained his leadership at the French Socialists' April 6-8 Congress.

French socialists inch left

By Diana Johnstone

FRANCOIS MITTERRAND CRUSHED his younger rival Michel Rocard's bid for leadership at the French Socialist Party Congress in Metz on April 6-8. Shoved out of the majority that runs the party, Rocard and his discreet ally, Pierre Mauroy, the powerful mayor of Lille, emerged from the often stormy congress as the main figures in a new right-wing opposition faction. Mitterrand and his faithful lieutenants managed to scrape together a 46 percent plurality to keep full control of the party without having to share power with the left-wing minority CERES (The Center for Socialist Study, Research and Education), clamoring to get into the majority on the basis of its enthusiastic support of Mitterrand against Rocard.

Right after the left so closely lost last year's parliamentary elections, Rocard began stressing the need for policy changes.

Mitterrand and his closest admirers seem to have deeply resented the implication that Mitterrand's leadership was to blame for the defeat. To counter suspicion that he was motivated primarily by excessive personal ambition, Rocard was obliged in pre-congress discussion to stress the novelty of his position on the basis of issues.

When his position paper failed to rally a majority, Rocard—and especially Mauroy—urged a "synthesis" that could keep them all in the majority. Now it was Mitterrand's turn to insist that the policy differences were irreconcilable. In the end it was Rocard's supporters who could complain that ideas had been used as a pretext to attack their hero.

At the top of his oratorical form, Mitterrand led off by attacking Rocard's distinction between the "two cultures" of the socialist tradition: one of them centralist, statist, Jacobin and Marxist-Leninist, and the other decentralizing, libertarian, favoring "self-management" and individual freedom. At the last PS congress in Nantes in June 1977, Rocard's "two cultures" speech was the ideological high point of a debate aimed at isolating the left-wing CERES minority from the rest of the party. This time the CERES people, led by Jean-Pierre Chevenement, although numerically weakened (down to about 14 percent from their previous 20 percent of party members), could chuckle as Mitterrand answered that the role of the French Socialist party was to bring them all together. While insisting that he was personally not a Marxist, Mitterrand paid tribute to the Marxist contribution to socialist thought and rejected the anti-Marxist campaign popularized by the "new philosophers."

On economic policy, Mitterrand at-

tacked Rocard's suggestion that ownership of the means of production was not decisive to socialist strategy as an implicit rejection of the "break with capitalism" central to PS doctrine since its 1971 Epinay Congress.

Mitterrand also rejected any special relationship with the CFDT labor confederation, where Rocard has many friends. Mitterrand's supporters warned that turning the PS into a "transmission belt" for CFDT policy could jeopardize PS relations with the other labor confederations. In fact, many of Mitterrand's labor allies are in the rival CGT (despite the heavy Communist Party influence there) and perhaps even more in the big teachers' union, the FEN.

Rocard's opposition to a strong nation-

al state, accompanied by his championing of the EEC and regional autonomy movements, is seen by his left critics, notably in CERES, as part of a strategy aimed at favoring the dominance of multinational corporations by weakening the only government level capable of making a transition towards socialism.

To the glee of the CERES people, Mitterrand largely took up this argument, warning against "imprudent enthusiasm for supranational structures," but he said, Europe must be strong to resist "American imperialism." This was meant for CERES, which has been warning against "German-American Europe." In so many words, Mitterrand called on CERES to drop the "German" from their complaints, and lo and behold, Cheven-

Communists welcome the June 10 elections

By Diana Johnstone

R O M E

ITALY WILL HOLD EARLY PARLIAMENTARY elections on the date of the first direct election of the European parliament, June 10. Italy's old Socialist President Sandro Pertini announced the double-header as the Italian Communist party (PCI) held its 15th congress.

In his closing speech to the congress on April 3, PCI secretary general Enrico Berlinguer approved Pertini's decision to dissolve the parliament elected in June 1976, when the Communists scored a record 34 percent. All signs point to a much poorer showing now. But a campaign against the Christian Democrats should help the PCI regain some of the sense of identity and combativity lost in over two years of non-opposition to Christian Democrat governments it was never allowed to join.

During the congress, leaders took pains to counter many militants' obvious relief and "sense of liberation" (the term recurred) at being back in the opposition by reminding them that the PCI was still intent on playing a role in government in keeping with the country's welfare and the important part of the population it represents.

The PCI's 14th congress, four years ago, marked the launching of Berlinguer's "Historic Compromise." This time, with European elections coming up and Com-

munist states warring with each other, Berlinguer called for a "new internationalism" based on acceptance of diversity between parties and nations as the basis for peace and development.

Foreign policy.

The PCI spelled out the originality of its foreign policy position without seeking the quarrel with Moscow demanded by some of its critics as proof of its independence. For one thing, this was not the moment to carp at the Russians, who are enjoying a new wave of popularity (or at least gratitude for their relative restraint) thanks to China's punitive raid into Vietnam, which horrified Italians. Without that raid, it is likely that Berlinguer would have gone farther in marking the PCI's distance from the USSR and desire for friendship with China.

Aside from the emotions of the moment, the PCI leadership is clearly committed to avoiding all sorts of "excommunications" and dramatic breaks that could aggravate dangerous tendencies towards belligerent isolation in either the USSR or China. On the contrary, the PCI means to make the most of its exceptionally rich international contacts to promote peace in and beyond Europe.

Berlinguer accused political adversaries who demand that the PCI openly break with the Soviet Union of both ulterior motives and provincialism. He said that foreign policy, after long being perhaps the most divisive factor, was now a main area of agreement between Italian parties,

ment in his speech simply called for a French foreign policy looking beyond "American Europe."

With Rocard's defeat clearly in sight, Chevenement congratulated the PS for resisting the "Americanization of political life" which consists in choosing leaders according to their scores in public opinion polls. Thanks in part to a good press, notably in the weekly *Nouvel Observateur*, Rocard has in recent months done better than Mitterrand in public opinion surveys.

Rocard's speeches to the congress tended to confirm the "social democratic" label pinned on him by his adversaries. His reminder of past socialist failures was not what party stalwarts wanted to hear, and his defense of the market economy on the grounds that "there is no choice between the market and rationing" turned into the scandal of the congress. In rebuttal, Mitterrand won applause by denouncing the capitalist market as a form of rationing determined by power and money, recalling some of the ways that such basic necessities as education, health care and even jobs are "rationed" under capitalism.

As the congress that clobbered Rocard, Metz could be interpreted as a leftward turn for the PS. Mitterrand countered that interpretation by refusing to share his narrow majority with the party's otherwise jubilant left wing. He slipped out of the CERES embrace by the device of spending so much time in the resolutions committee debating disagreements with Rocard and Mauroy that there was no time left to discuss agreements with CERES. The CERES people were told that their incorporation into the Mitterrand majority could hurt the socialist image in the June 10 European parliamentary elections. But Mitterrand promised to open talks with CERES that could give it a share of party leadership once those elections are safely past.

CERES spokesman Didier Motchane concluded that the Metz congress ended with its business unfinished.

and gave as examples the attitude towards Indochina and support for African liberation movements. In fact (and the foreign delegates at the congress were a sign of this), the PCI probably has more friends on the African continent than any other political party in Europe, and Berlinguer made it clear that the party's internationalism, far from being pruned down to meet ideological criteria, should be seen as an asset to Italy and Europe in dealing with the world.

PCI "Foreign Minister" Gian Carlo Pajetta said the "new internationalism" was by no means aimed at strengthening some "camp" (as in past Communist parlance) but precisely at overcoming the division of the world into blocs. Stressing the importance of "nonaligned" countries, Pajetta said that "no one should seek to align them or, even worse, to 'play' one against another." Attending the congress at the head of his country's delegation, Yugoslav party secretary Stane Dolanc expressed warm approval of Pajetta's words.

The other main theme of the PCI congress was the need for unity with the Socialists. But the scrawny Italian Socialist Party hope to ride sturdy Eurosocialist coattails to a score well above the 9 percent of the vote it got in 1976, apparently by winning votes away from the PCI.

PSI posters proclaim in the six EEC (European Economic Community) languages: "If you speak socialist you will be understood in Europe." This goes along with PSI secretary general Bettino Craxi's ideological campaign against the PCI's undemocratic "Leninism."

No ideology.

Speakers at the congress stressed the PCI's idealism, not its ideology. And it is clear that idealism, more than any ideology, is the key to party members' sense of their identity. When old "historic leader" Gior-

VIETNAM

The Chinese charge to their own bugler

By Wilfred Burchett

HANOI

MINERS AND PEASANTS worked in relays of a month each to move to the Chinese border, starting on Feb. 17, the day of the invasion. That the work started only then is confirmation that the Vietnamese were taken by surprise, not so much by the fact of an attack (although in Hanoi, in December, I found opinion divided in leading circles as to whether the Chinese would really attack) as at the weight of forces employed. Vietnamese military sources claim that along the 1,600-kilometer front, 200,000 troops from five army corps (20 divisions) were rapidly built up to 11 army corps, with over 600,000 troops supported by 550 tanks and armoured cars, 480 pieces of artillery and 1,260 mortars.

"If we miscalculated," said a Vietnamese military spokesman, "their miscalculations were far more serious. They expected the ethnic minority who live along the entire frontier to rise up and hail the Chinese as liberators. Instead they were among the most valiant and effective in helping to throw them out. As they know every tree and track in those mountains, they were invaluable."

"The Chinese also believed their own propaganda that the main part of our regular army was in Kampuchea." To my question as to how the Chinese fought, Major Le Trieu, commander of the Langson City garrison, replied, "They fought badly, partly because they were

not elite troops. Morale was low because the troops knew they were not fighting in a just cause, but as aggressors."

Typical of their low morale was the fact that they left their bodies where they fell. Traditionally the Chinese make great efforts to recover the bodies of the fallen, but this time it was we who had to bury them. Major Le Trieu had fought for seven years in South Vietnam, so I asked how he compared Chinese fighting methods with those of the Americans.

"The Americans used massed firepower to reduce losses of their effectives, the Chinese use human wave tactics without any consideration of their losses. Troops are even forced to march through minefields. The Americans were well-trained in modern tactics corresponding to modern weapons. Chinese tactics are very old-fashioned with lack of coordination between different units and arms. That is why we were able to inflict heavy losses at small cost to ourselves."

At Langson provincial Communist Party headquarters, which was in overall charge of military operations, I was told that in the Longson pass area alone the Chinese used two army corps—the 41st and 55th—eight divisions plus some independent units totalling well over 100,000 men."

"Their tactics never varied, said Vy Ngoc Quen, senior cadre at the CP headquarters. A bugler in front giving the signals to advance; an officer, pistol in hand, following behind to threaten any waverers. The only element I found new from the Korean war is that bugles are now plastic, not brass."

The Vietnamese found that when their

Continued on page 11.



A tank driver, one of the first two Chinese prisoners of war displayed publicly by the Vietnamese, at Pho Lu regional military headquarters, Feb. 23.

Preparing for trouble

If what is going on around Langon is any guide, neither side in the Chinese-Vietnamese dispute is expecting quick positive results from negotiations that opened in Hanoi April 14. On the Chinese side of the Langson pass area China's main invasion route, I heard a rippling series of explosions. My Vietnamese guide assured me it was not artillery fire but Chinese engineers blasting tunnels and trenches into the rocky slopes leading towards Vietnam.

On the Vietnamese side there has been a dramatic transformation since my Christmas visit. To a depth of 50 kilometers before Langson, mountain slopes,

which in most places come to within a kilometer of the road, are crisscrossed with a fantastic maze of zigzagging deep trenches, the freshly dug red earth standing out starkly against the green of the slopes. It is a region of towering mountains through which the barely 20 foot wide road, rarely straight for more than 500 meters, runs 180 kilometers from the Chinese frontier before reaching the plains to continue on for another 72 kilometers to Hanoi.

The least difficult section is from Dong Dang, two kilometers from the frontier, to Langon, 14 kilometers south of Langson, where the road is relatively straight.

ITALY

gio Amendola called the PCI the backbone of "moral Italy," there is no doubt that his words stirred a younger generation of Italian Communists who would not dare use such an old-fashioned phrase.

The biggest personal success among speakers at the congress (aside from Berlinguer) went to Pietro Ingrao, who was madly applauded for the most intellectually difficult and self-critical speech of the entire five days of oratory. Ingrao stressed the multiple changes in the world on all levels of reality, the incapacity of all existing ideologies to deal with them, and the need to re-examine every concept and idea in the effort to understand and act in today's complex world. Considered the chief thinker in the party's left wing, Ingrao was "pushed upstairs" as presiding member of the lower house of parliament during the period of the "Historic Compromise," but may be about to play a more active role in the party in the new period of "union of the left." Ingrao favors a more negative attitude towards the experience of the Communist parties of Eastern Europe, and a more positive attitude towards the social democratic parties of Northern Europe in drawing lessons for a "third way" towards socialism—"not in the middle but completely new."

The PCI, only too happy to admit its disagreements with the truculent French CP, is in fact eager to cooperate with Northern European socialists and social democrats. All were invited to the 15th congress, and Konrad Adenauer party leader Franziska Meffert reportedly had already bought his air ticket to Rome when he was kept away by Cseret's angry warning that the PCI would consider his attendance "a declaration of war." Meffert sent his close aide Claude Estier, but Cseret reportedly prevented the German Social Democrats (SPD) from sending a strong

Arrest of "workerist" intellectuals puzzles left

By Diana Johnstone

ROME

PRE-ELECTION ITALY IS PUZZLING over the surprise arrests April 7 of the intellectual leaders of the "Workers' Autonomy" movement on charges of organizing the Red Brigades and other armed terrorist groups. Padua University political science professor Toni Negri, the leading theoretician of "Autonomy," was accused of handling Red Brigades' negotiations with the family of Aldo Moro during the Christian Democratic leader's captivity last year.

Editor Oreste Scalzone and seven other autonomy leaders were accused, along with Negri, of organizing the Red Brigades and other paramilitary armed bands aimed at overthrowing the government. The armed insurrection charge carries a maximum penalty of life imprisonment.

Several others were charged with subversion. Police said a total of 40 warrants had been issued.

Judging by the way such sensational political cases have been handled in the past, and by the slimness of the evidence disclosed to the public, a feast of rumors could drag on for months or even years before the accusations are clarified by a trial—if they ever are clarified.

The charge that Negri took part in the Moro abduction was reportedly based

on voice print analyses made in Germany comparing police tapes of his private telephone conversations with the recording of the voice that on April 30 of last year informed Mrs. Moro by telephone that the Red Brigades had killed her husband.

The charges of insurrection and subversion against all the intellectuals were apparently based mainly on their published writings.

Such evidence is ambiguous. Scalzone is the author of the controversial definition of the Red Brigades as "Comrades who are wrong" that split the far left during the Moro drama, since most Italian leftists (outside the "Autonomy" area) could no longer recognize the Red Brigades as "comrades."

Negri at the time went on to specify that the Red Brigades were wrong not just tactically but strategically and called their line "a complete failure." They had never made one single correct analysis, he wrote.

Thus if Negri is indeed "the brains behind the Red Brigades," he was playing such a double game that *Lotta Continua* headlined ironically after his arrest "Free Machiavelli."

Most of the arrested "autonomy" theorists who are old enough used to belong to the ultra-militant, quasi-Maoist "Potere Operaio" (workers power) organization that fell apart around 1973, largely over the issue of violent confrontation with the state. Some of its veterans chose militaristic underground organization,

while others opted for the "mass proletarian violence" of the "Autonomy" movement aimed at immediate satisfaction of daily needs: expropriation of housing, "autoreduction" of utility prices and so on.

Both "workers power" and "workers autonomy" are based on the "workerist" theories of Negri and Mario Tronti (who has since backed away from them) glorifying the immediate subjective global revolt of the working class in opposition to the long-range goals of political parties and labor unions.

They exalt "refusal to work" over demands for higher wages, sabotage over factory councils and violent struggle over almost everything. The "workerist" theories seem to have sprung from an almost mystical interpretation, by Negri and other intellectuals, of the rebellious behavior of southern Italian immigrant workers in northern Italian factories as the very essence of proletarian revolt.

The southerners, from a culture where violent Vendetta takes precedence over showing up on time, could often see little difference between management and the union, and were ready to wreck both, to the delight of ultra-left theorists looking for the genuine working class that would at last make the revolution.

Needless to say, the "workerist" ideas and "autonomy" movement are anathema to the labor unions and leftist parties, who would probably not be at all heartbroken to see their leaders out of the way. The Padua judge who indicted Negri is believed to be close to the Communist party. Nevertheless, the uproar is expected to help the election campaign of the Christian Democrats. The politically unsophisticated do not sort out the differences on the left, and the right-wing press paints them all with the same brush.

NORTHERN IRELAND



Northern Irish police attack women protesters after a peaceful picket at Armagh jail.

IRA stages public protest against prisons and beatings

By Dennis O'Hearn

WHEN WERE YOU LAST detained for an hour on the street by a member of a foreign army, asking for identification, where you were going, where you had been? For me it was this afternoon at 2:30. The reason? I was on the Falls Road, in a Catholic part of town.

Day in and day out, it is the same in Belfast, especially if you happen to be a working class Catholic (or, more likely, unemployed Catholic). The most frightening thing is that people are "used to it." Army and police harassment and violence are the day-to-day reality of oppression in the police state of Northern Ireland. As a Provisional IRA member told me recently, "The people used to come out by the dozens to defend someone who was being dragged off by the army; now they just accept it as part of life."

There is another level of oppression here, the repression of political prisoners, and of those who support their fight to gain political status.

On March 1, 1976, the British stripped prisoners of their political status. As a result, many convicted by Northern Ireland's non-jury courts are refusing to wear the prison clothing required of common criminals. For this, their most basic rights as prisoners have been withdrawn (no exercise, books, TV). From September 1976 they were kept naked in solitary confinement in their cells. After March 1977 they were allowed a blanket to cover themselves.

To protest this mistreatment, the 400 "blanketmen" in the "H-blocks" (laid out in the shape of the letter H) of Long Kesh prison, along with women prisoners in Armagh jail, have gone on a "dirt and noncooperation strike." They refuse to wash, clean their cells, or clean out their chamber pots. Periodically, they are taken from their cells and forcibly scrubbed and shaved.

Public solidarity.

The Republican (mainly Catholic) population of Ireland has increasingly mobilized on the H-block issue. Late last year, 15,000 took part in a protest march. This January, there was a march from the town of Toomebridge to Burntollet bridge, where ten years earlier a group of civil rights marchers (including Bernadette Devlin) were led into an ambush by the RUC (the Northern Ireland police).

Three demands marked this year's Burntollet commemoration march: "End repression," "Troops out," and "Political status" (for political prisoners). The H-block issue brought out large groups of people and made the march a success. All along the march people joined in twos and threes from beside the road. Housewives provided carloads of food and mugs of tea along the 36 miles of the march. Virtually the whole town of Dungiven came out to meet the demonstration, waving and cheering, like an Italian town meeting their American liberators in some old war film. The British army and police, obviously afraid of such solidarity, stayed outside of town. For one

night, at least, the people of Dungiven really were liberated, though no one forgot that six townspeople were enduring the torture of the H-blocks.

The three days were not without problems, though. The police blockaded the march at several points. At one, as the marchers took to the fields to avoid the blockade, a local Orange (Protestant sectarian) politician began shooting at them. As he told reporters later, his gun "is for shooting vermin," and that's how human rights campaigners are treated in Northern Ireland. No charges will be filed against the politician.

The 1500 policemen who were there to "protect the march" also left their im-

print. Several marchers were sent to the hospital by their attacks, while ten were arrested. A man five feet from me was dragged along the road by his hair while other policemen kicked and beat him. On the last day of the march I overheard one RUC man say (pointing to a demonstrator) "See that bloke up front, he's the one we arrested yesterday—it sure would be funny to get him again." Luckily, the "bloke" lives in Dublin.

The march's aftermath.

Mickey Conlon, Bernadette McNulty, and Eamon McMahon were not lucky. They live in Belfast. On Jan. 20, two weeks after the march, they were leaving a traditional music session in the Short Strand (a Catholic area of Belfast) with two friends. As they crossed the Albert Bridge over the Lagan River, an RUC land rover pulled up. One RUC man yelled, "Weren't those bastards on the Burntollet march?" The three were beaten, hit with rifles and taken to a local police station where they were held and questioned until 4 a.m. To cover up for their own assault, the RUC have charged the three with numerous counts of assault and obstructing justice. Bernadette McNulty walked on crutches for several weeks and still has a limp. Barely 5'4", she is now charged with assaulting three large, well-trained RUC officers.

Meanwhile, the march has brought out the cynical attitude of the leaders imposed on Northern Ireland by Britain. Roy Mason, the British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, recently got into a row with a Unionist (Orange) MP in the British Parliament over his statement that the march "at no time drew over 250 supporters." Why, then, asked the Orange MP, did you have to send in 1500 policemen, hundreds of army men, tons of machinery and six helicopters?

The latest and most blatant ravings of the "mad midget," as Mason is known in Belfast, came in a February interview on BBC. Mason argued that the H-block campaign, and the IRA, have only slight and waning support in Northern Ireland. After calling Jack Anderson and the U.S. Congress ad hoc Committee on Northern Ireland "naive," he proceeded to make a stunning series of lies and misrepresentations.

In reaction to Mason's statements about the level of support for the H-block prisoners, Sinn Féin (political arm of the IRA) decided to put their reputation on the line. It called an on-the-spot protest, with only one day's notice to the people of Belfast. Even Sinn Féin's greatest hopes were exceeded as 7000-10,000 people joined the march down the Falls Road on Feb. 18. The crowd was addressed by Joe Cahill, a veteran of the 1950s IRA campaign, who is banned from Northern Ireland. But the British army couldn't touch Cahill on the Falls Road. Several IRA men mingled freely in the crowd, carrying automatic rifles. A member of the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA), the other Irish parliamentary group, opened fire on the British army barracks around the corner, then calmly retreated to safety. No matter how many British troops are in Belfast, it is obvious who controls the Falls Road.

But the press was strangely absent from this show of solidarity. Roy Mason and the British do not want to know that this many people attended an illegal march called by the IRA on one day's notice. How did the British hear the story on BBC news? "An RUC man is in hospital after being hit by a brick which was thrown following a demonstration in West Belfast. The RUC barracks on the Springfield Road were also attacked by youths throwing bricks and bottles." That is all. The next day the British army estimated the size of the crowd at 700.

Two weeks later, on the third anniversary of the withdrawal of political status, an even larger protest march took place, drawing people from throughout the North and South of Ireland. The rioting that followed the march was more vicious, and plastic bullets flew throughout the crowd. The support of the Catholic population for prisoners is growing. Yet the news report the following day: "Ten policemen were injured when the crowd, estimated by the police to be about 500 strong, started stoning the security forces..."

ITT reporter is arrested in Belfast

In *These Times* correspondent for Northern Ireland, Dennis O'Hearn, was arrested by British troops on Friday, April 6, for possession of a photograph of an IRA volunteer (left). He was detained for the day at Springfield Road army barracks following discovery of the photograph during a routine army "personality" check. Under the Northern Irish Emergency Provisions Act he was held without access to a lawyer or a phone call.

"It is like suddenly dropping off the face of the earth," said O'Hearn. "No one knows where you are except the army and police, so you are completely at their mercy. Because I am American I received no physical mistreatment, apart from a boot in the backside to help me into the army pig. But I did receive a lot of verbal abuse, especially when I refused to reveal the source of the photograph."

Some of the comments included, "You know we can give you three years for this," and "If you don't tell us where you got this we'll send you to Castlereagh (interrogation center) for three days, and you've heard about that place." Under the Emergency Provisions Act, a person can be held for three days without charge or outside contact, usually at Castlereagh, which has been under attack from Amnesty International and others as a torture center.

"Had I been Irish, I'm sure I'd be in Castlereagh right now," O'Hearn said. Throughout his interrogation, he was referred to as a "terrorist" by the army and police.

Dennis O'Hearn

SPANISH CITIES

The Socialists win in the big ones

By Casey Blake

BARCELONA

WHEN THOUSANDS OF Socialists and Communists gathered in Madrid's Plaza Mayor in the early morning of April 4 to celebrate their victory in the municipal elections of the day before, they were attacked by police with a brutality reminiscent of the worst days of the Franco regime.

The city's newly elected Socialist mayor responded with a promise that the incident would be the last example of police suppression of the left in Madrid. Spain's long and contradictory democratic transition had finally come home to that country's neighborhoods and municipalities in the first local elections in almost half a century.

Socialist mayors were elected with Communist support in Madrid, Barcelona and Valencia—Spain's three largest cities—as the result of a campaign marked by a growing polarization of political forces between the right and left.

The right-ward swing of Adolfo Suarez's Union of the Democratic Center (UCD) and the break of left and nationalist parties from Francoist control of municipalities signal the end of the "politics of consensus" that has guided Spain's political evolution since the death of Franco in 1975.

The aldermen elected on April 3 have yet to choose the mayors for Spain's cities and towns, but agreements made during the campaign by Socialists and Communists make clear that the UCD will find itself isolated in the largest and most significant local administrations.

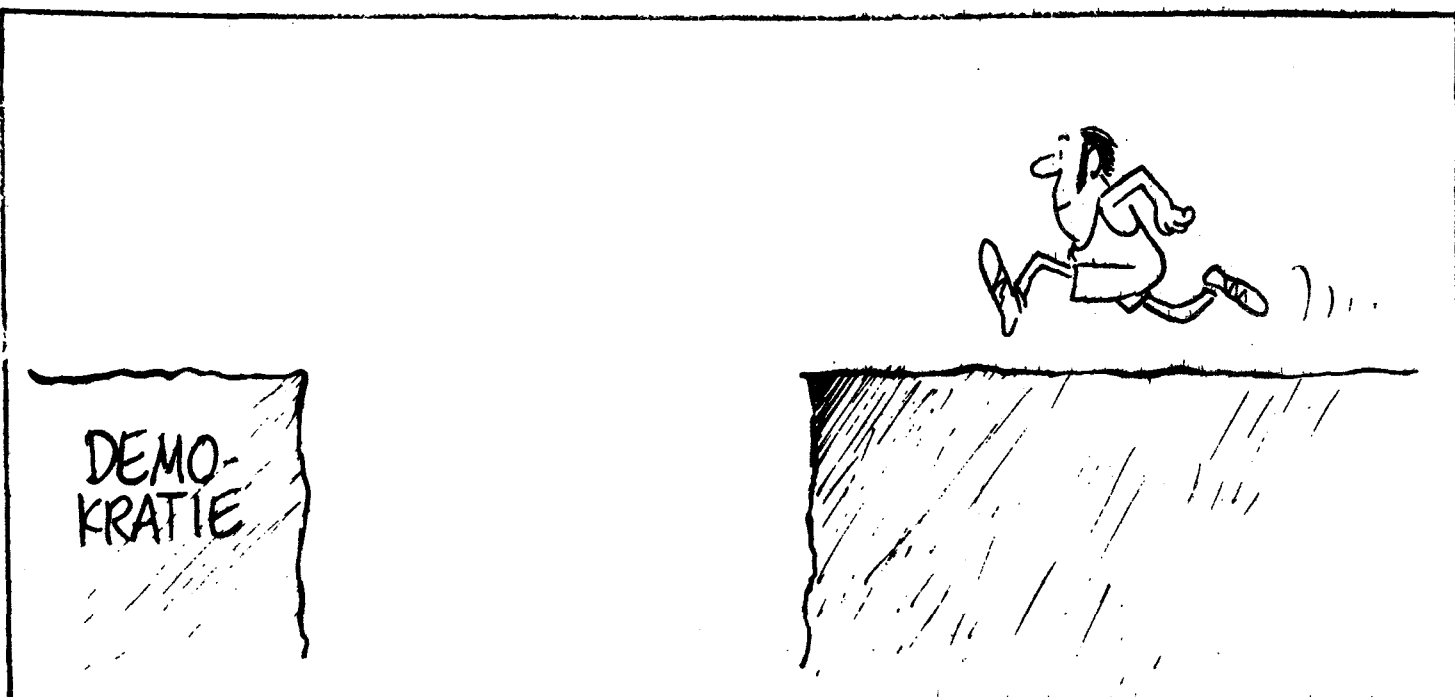
Socialist Enrique Tierno Galvan will head Madrid's municipal government, making him the only Socialist mayor of a European capital. The honorary president of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) and leader of that party's left wing, Tierno won election largely on the basis of his reputation for honesty and great prestige as a leader of the anti-Franco democratic opposition.

"Bloc of Progress."

In Barcelona, Socialists and Communists began negotiations to establish a "Bloc of Progress"—including Catalan nationalist parties—that would isolate the UCD in that city and throughout Catalonia.

During the campaign, Valencian Socialists and Communists announced their intention to govern together. They will form a left majority in the new administration.

In Euskadi and Andalucia, Spain's



most troubled regions, the nationalist and regionalist sentiments expressed in last March's legislative elections remained strong on April 3.

Bilbao and San Sebastian, the two largest Basque cities, overwhelmingly elected aldermen from the Christian Democratic Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) and the left *abertzale* or "patriotic" Nerri Batasuna coalition.

The Socialist Party of Andalucia (PSA), which showed spectacular gains

movement. They thus constantly postponed these new municipal elections since 1977.

The continuance of hand-picked Franco functionaries in local governments in the seemingly endless elaboration of the new constitution last year has given many Spaniards the impression that nothing has substantially changed since Franco's death.

The daily cycle of Basque separatist terrorism and police brutality in Euskadi, and the worsening of Spain's economic

Spanish cities have suffered 40 years of dictatorial rule. The left and nationalist parties argued effectively that April municipal elections allowed for a rupture with the Francoist past.

in that region in the March elections, made impressive showings in all the major municipalities of Andalucia. It remains to be seen whether the PSA (nicknamed "Sherry Batasuna" by its detractors) will support leftist municipal coalitions or form pacts with the UCD in return for favors for that economically depressed region from Madrid.

Socialist and Republican victories in the 1931 municipal elections brought on the second Spanish republic. Centrists are aware that local governments were the traditional strongholds of the left in the '30s, and are fearful of the popularity earned by leftist militants in the democratic opposition and in Spain's citizens'

To my question as to why there were lines of people moving down the road away from Langson with their buffalo and household goods, Vy Ngoc Quen replied, "Once we realized Chinese intentions, we started moving old people and children back to safety. They are still moving south to designated areas because immediately after the Chinese withdrawal we started reorganizing life in places close to the frontier. We have sent young people who can continue production but be ready to fight."

The Vietnamese are certainly acting as if there would be a second round. Perhaps, they seem to believe a way to prevent it would be to take those within the Peking leadership who want to teach the Vietnamese a lesson for a trip along the Langson-Hanoi road. "An old military man like Deng Xiaoping would realize that if a 1000-truck convoy left Langson not a single one would be left within about 30 kilometers," Vy said. "The first two or three knocked out would seal the fate of the rest, who could not turn around on that road. They would be sitting ducks for the gunners in those zig-zag trenches whom no amount of bugle-blowers and human wave could dislodge."

crisis, help to explain low voter turnout (58 percent) in the April 3 elections.

Centrist accommodations.

President Suarez held national legislative elections in March (See *ITT*, Mar. 14) in the hope of stemming a left sweep of municipalities. The March elections gave his party slightly less than a parliamentary majority, making necessary an agreement with members of the defeated right-wing Democratic Coalition.

The accommodation to this rightist rival apparently came at a large price, namely the purging of the small moderate or social-democratic sector of the first Suarez government. The next one will favor the conservative Christian Democratic and ex-Falangist factions of the Centrist party.

Just days before the municipal elections, parliamentary bullying by UCD and Democratic Coalition deputies allowed for the investiture of Suarez as president without debate in a televised spectacle designed to influence the campaign.

Communist party (PCE) leader Santiago Carrillo warned Suarez that his party's right turn could seriously threaten the country's democratic transition.

"If the UCD adopts constantly tougher positions towards workers' demands," Carrillo said, "it is going to cause political tensions and instability in the next four years, crisis of the government and even a crisis of the regime."

After the investiture, PSO first secretary Felipe Gonzalez called Suarez on his past as former secretary of the Falangist *Movimiento* and asked about a possible coalition of political forces "uncompromised by Francoism" during the next four years.

The UCD's abdication of the political center with the presence of many ex-Franco bureaucrats in its lists of candidates damaged the centrists' credibility in the campaign.

Spanish cities have suffered 40 years of dictatorial rule. The left and nationalist parties argued effectively that the April municipal elections allowed for a real rupture with the speculation and corruption of the past.

The PSOE and PCE filled their lists with urban specialists and economists, as well as with leaders from the labor and neighborhood movements. While all candidates promised clean and decentralized government, the personal prestige of these candidates contrasted sharply with the biographies of many centrists who had collaborated openly with the old regime.

Centrists red-baited.

The rightist shift of the UCD at the national level was accompanied by a campaign of fear and red-baiting by centrists in many cities. The UCD's candidate in Madrid railed against the "ultra-leftist Marxist professor," Tierno Galvan, while Valencian centrists revived the divisive specter of a "new Popular Front" to describe the relations between the PSOE and the PCE.

As Catalan businessmen threatened to pull out investments in cities with "Marxist mayors," the UCD's mayoral candidate in Barcelona criticized the Communists as "undemocratic" for attempting to isolate the right. He predicted that a Barcelona "Gulag," with psychiatric treatment for 200,000 UCD voters, would be necessary to isolate the centrists.

Spain has had five months of electoral campaigns, national and local. They began with the campaign for the constitutional referendum last November. Throughout those campaigns, such big questions as the democratization of the armed forces and police, a solution to Europe's highest unemployment rate, and the elaboration of statutes of local government for Spain's nationalities and regions were put on the back burner.

An entirely new set of laws regulating—among other things—labor disputes and the government-controlled radio and television, await action by the new parliament.

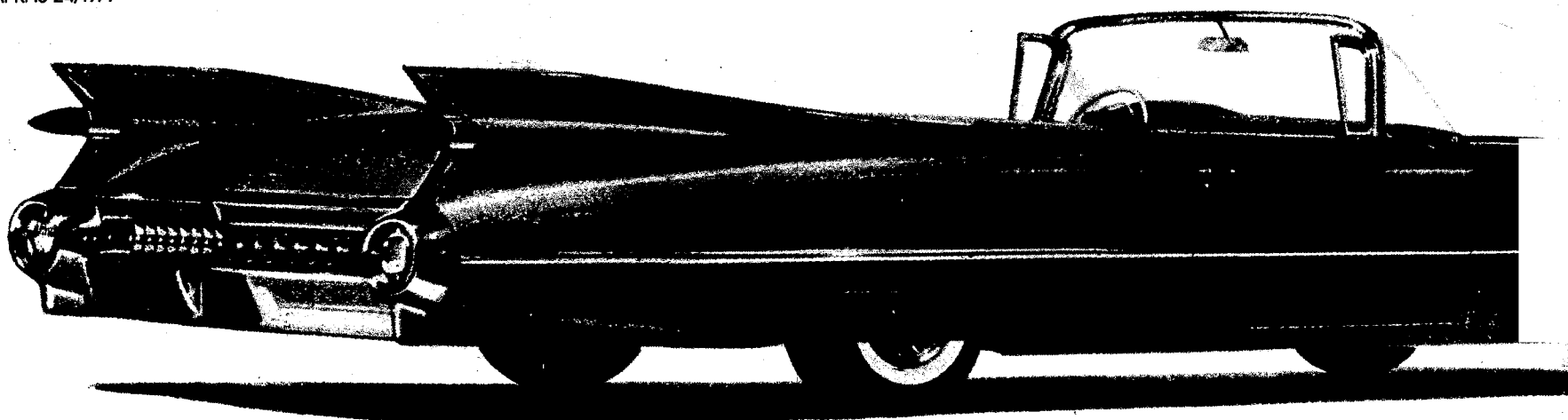
With so much at stake, the Spanish right has opted for a tougher, less consensual position. The Socialists, who hoped for victory last March, and the Communists, who advocated a "government of democratic consolidation" to include Socialists and possibly Communists, now find themselves in the opposition to a national government formed exclusively by the UCD.

In the polarized Basque provinces, this situation threatens to intensify social and political conflict over the next four years, with dangerous consequences for the new democracy. The recent victories of the left and of nationalists and regionalists in Spain's major cities allow for the formation of a significant challenge to the right's hegemony over the pace and extent of the Spanish democratic transition.

Cautious pullback in Vietnam

Continued from page 9.

snipers picked off the buglers, units became confused, as they had been conditioned to operate according to bugle signals. "To try to take mountain peaks by human wave tactics," said Vy Ngoc Quen, "is terribly costly, especially when up against our well dug-in troops. All they met in that campaign were our young regional troops and local population, but it seemed to have dawned on them that if things continued they would soon run into our regular army, including the elite divisions they thought were in Kampuchea. But even the forces we used put 19,000 Chinese out of action in the Longson pass area."



WHAT'S GOOD FOR GENERAL MOTORS

"The automobile industry is like the weather: everybody talks but nobody does anything about it."
—Justice Dept. Memo, 1968

General Motors

was put together in 1913. In that year, President Woodrow Wilson wrote, "I do not expect to see monopoly restrain itself." He went on to note that if there were people in business "big enough to own the government of the United States, they are going to own it." They do.

Over the years, the government's power over major corporations has been steadily eroded by corporate control of regulatory and law enforcement agencies originally mandated to restrain big business. How and why this occurred is illustrated by the history of government failure to control General Motors.

GM's size and power have allowed it to avoid antitrust prosecution and to seep into every area of daily life in the U.S. Whether it be energy, environmental, inflation, or transportation policy, GM usually prevails. As one administration lobbyist told me, "Whenever we go to Capitol Hill, in almost every office we enter, we find that GM's been there ahead of us."

GM is the largest and most vertically integrated corporation in the U.S. It controls and owns every level of input into automotive and transportation equipment production. These links to supply, manufacture, distribution, and service make it unlikely that GM will negotiate lower prices for ignition systems, body parts, or bearings. Higher prices all along the line help GM's bottom line of superprofits.

GM's production is not limited to automobiles. They control the lion's share of bus, locomotive, transmission markets, as well as producing missiles, military equipment, microwave ovens, and refrigerators.

GM's power doesn't stop merely with the industrial empire it owns directly, but spreads throughout the boardrooms of corporate America where GM directors and their associates insure that business decisions don't clash with GM's interests. Through 580 such interlocks, GM enjoys special channels of communication that the Federal Trade Commission has argued "lead to the destruction of competition, preferential treatment in the purchase and supply of goods and financial services, and the concentration of undue economic power in a few hands."

The concentration of corporate power has left us with an unbalanced system of urban transportation incapable of meeting the needs of energy efficient, safe and cheap mobility for the next decade. The story was revealed in Bradford C. Snell's landmark study on *American Ground Transport*, prepared for the Senate Antitrust Subcommittee in 1974. Snell details how GM became involved in destroying streetcar railways and converting urban transportation to more inefficient, costly buses.

GM organized with tire, petroleum, and another bus manufacturer to forestall a glut of supplies of their products on the post-World War II market. To create demand, manipulation of the market and destruction of mass transportation like electrical railways was essential.

The classic case was in Los Angeles after World War II. The Pacific Electric

(PE) System then spanned an area of 75 miles transporting 80 million passengers annually, and had been crucial in settling the L.A. region. In preserving the environment, rational land use, and efficient transportation, the PE System was exemplary. GM and its allies bought up the PE system and integrated it into a new Pacific City Lines system that severed downtown L.A.'s rail links and converted the system to buses. With the lack of direct rail service to outlying areas, the use of smellier and slower buses, and the added congestion that bus conversion brought to the downtown area, people left public transit and business fled the downtown area. Increased automobilization and urban sprawl were the results.

The motorization of L.A. did not go unopposed. Civic groups and local government vigorously opposed GM's conversions of the rail system to buses since it would further the "smog menace" and destroy a popular transportation system. But by the early '50s, Los Angeles had lost control over such decisions to the California Public Utilities Commission, which was more accessible to corporate than popular sentiments.

Without the danger of public referendum over transportation in Los Angeles, GM countered public protest with "expert opinion" before the state regulatory bodies. Jessie Haugh, GM's "hit man" for electrical railway elimination, had Illinois Institute of Technology professor (and GM consultant) Martin Ellicott testify that pollutants from buses could be controlled. GM Truck and Coach engineers were flown to Los Angeles to minimize the effects of bus pollution.

Motorizing public transit was a disaster for mass transport. Operating costs rose and with it the increasing debt drove over 90 percent of the transit firms into bankruptcy forcing cities to municipalize the fiscally crippled transit systems. With public transit made into a public burden, GM promoted its major interest—the automobilization of America.

The same corporate coalition that destroyed electrical transit in L.A. joined with other auto manufacturers, oil companies, rubber companies, construction firms, to create Washington's powerful Highway Lobby, which has managed to put over \$200 billion in highway development while letting other transportation alternatives rot. In this greatest of government boondoggles, the highway pork barrel became bottomless. The more highways built, the more people use automobiles. The more automobile congestion, the more highways are built.

Somehow highway expenditures always avoid the budgetary knife in inflationary times. Another \$10 billion was appropriated to highways in Congress last year. Yet, in a fit of anti-inflationary fervor, Congress seems destined to cut a relatively insignificant \$33 million from the rail budget.

GM's fingerprints are all over government transportation policy. One of GM's many men in Congress, Rep. Bud Shuster (R-PA), has led the congressional offensive against seat belts, pollution controls,

safety regulations, highway spending cuts, and anything that vaguely threatens GM's power to decide what our means of motion should be.

Last year when Department of Transportation Secretary Brock Adams overrode GM objections and mandated the new Transbus specifications that would have provided 7.5 million disabled Americans access to public bus systems, Shuster immediately introduced a congressional amendment to reconsider the decision. GM had thought it had succeeded, under the Ford administration, in getting federal approval of its new advanced design bus, and so it retooled its bus manufacturing and quickly captured contracts across the country, leaving other bus manufacturers who waited for government standards without any part of the new bus market. The successful effort to delay the Transbus was, as Paralyzed Veterans of America spokesman John Lancaster put it, "an effort to bail out General Motors for a bad business decision."

Antitrust laws

have not curbed GM's corporate power. This failure exemplifies what one University of Wisconsin researcher recently found to be the rule of antitrust enforcement: the larger the firm and the more concentrated the industry, the less likely the corporation is to face prosecution. Antitrust laws are usually used to discipline smaller companies into serving the needs of the large corporations.

Antitrust regulation was born in the period of populist challenge and anti-corporate sentiment that swept the country around 1900. As struggles against private corporate power became stronger, corporate liberals in government feared, as antitrust legislator Sen. John Sherman put it, that "the popular mind is agitated with problems that may disturb the social order." Seeking compromise to demands for worker participation in industry and public ownership, Sherman and others proposed antitrust regulation as a ceremonial concession to public demands.

With regulation, the issues of corporate power were removed from the community meeting halls and streets into the chambers of courts and governmental agencies. Insulated from public scrutiny and demands, corporations and government were brought closer together. As a fixture of government policy, antitrust "enforcement" has legitimated the ruse of "free enterprise and competition" while acquiescing to corporate grabs for greater economic power.

It's almost 40 years since the first antitrust investigation of GM started. Today well-meaning FTC lawyers still go through the motions of an ineffective rear-guard action. The image of a virile FTC tearing off a chunk of GM and feeding it to the American people is as illusory now as it was in 1939—probably more so. The investigation is still in the subpoena-writing stage. Two subpoenas written in two years with little compliance. Every time the FTC requests documents, GM pleads the rights of corporate privacy and politely tells the FTC to get lost.

In the summer of 1948, the financial and policy committees of GM set prices above the previously accepted 30 percent rate of return. Evidence of this illegal use of monopoly power *used to be* part of the

Justice Department files on GM. Between 1930 and 1955, GM officers were instructed to purchase stock in local transit companies and to influence local government officials to buy GM buses and scrap electrical railways. GM cash surpluses were deposited in banks throughout the country in order to pressure bank officials to support bus conversion programs and highway building. Evidence of these GM directives *used to be* part of the Justice Department's records and were intended to be used in an antitrust case against GM. *A* this and more *used to be* in Justice Department files. But it is now destroyed or safely sequestered at GM offices in Washington; it will never appear in court.

The evidence was not stolen. There was no break-in. What happened illustrates a much more subtle and dangerous relationship between corporate power and government regulators.

As the Republican administration faded into oblivion in 1976, the FTC overtook investigating GM's auto market monopolization from the Antitrust Division. Since 1966, the Justice Department had ignored successive staff recommendations to prosecute GM. The Justice Department handed considerable material to the FTC. But they failed to mention 555 boxes of material on GM dating back to 1916 that were hidden away at the Federal Records Center. The FTC learned of the boxes from a researcher who happened upon them and promptly asked for the material.

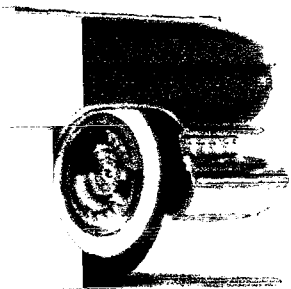
The Justice Department pooch-pooched the material's importance, but, through Department contacts, GM quickly learned of the FTC request. GM general counsel Frazer Hilder immediately contacted Antitrust Division chief Theodore Kauper, an old law school friend. Hilder wanted to see the documents before the FTC.

Kauper handed the matter over to a rising Division star, Hugh Morrison, who has since become a member of the august multinational law firm of Cahill Gordon. Seizing the chance to ingratiate himself in high corporate circles, Morrison defended GM's request, arguing that the bulk of the documents were the property of GM, obtained through Grand Jury proceedings.

This conveniently confused the issue as much of the material had not originated from the Grand Jury. But why GM suddenly felt compelled to claim files they had left in government hands for decades was ignored.

Those boxes contained our last full historical record of GM activities. I have filed various Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests and discovered that interviews, documents, and public materials mentioned in earlier GM investigational memos by the Justice Department have been elsewhere "destroyed for lack of historical significance." Luckily, the federal government made copies of some of the materials, which ended up at the Federal Records Center.

But what happened to the boxes? As 1976 wore on, skittish GM executives, fearing a Carter victory and renewed antitrust activity, impatiently pushed the Morrison opinion to obstruct transferring the documents to the FTC. By October, an Antitrust Division official wrote to his colleagues: "I gather from my conversations with GM people that they are somewhat resigned from a practical standpoint that they will probably end



Antitrust laws take second place to corporate-government cooperation as business regulates the state

by Glenn Yago

turning over most of the material to the FTC anyway through re-subpoena by the Agency.... Understandably, they could wish to look at the material first, however, to determine whether there are any portions to which they might object. For this purpose, they are willing to send personnel to Washington."

It's impossible to say what other issues concerning the boxes were resolved through "conversations with GM people." As one Justice Department staffer put it, "...that kind of policy is in people's heads and not written down on paper." But, the Antitrust Division has refused to release even existing letters or memos concerning the missing evidence.

The FTC lawyers, by their own admission, were busy writing new subpoenas and lost interest in the "old boxes." When they checked, GM's offer to clean the Justice Department files prior to transfer had not only been received, but the department had saved them the trouble of returning all 555 boxes.

The FTC lawyers were soon informed they could "review" the materials at GM offices in Washington and copy down (by hand, if you please) anything of interest if anything interesting had survived the shredder.

Destroying and hiding evidence from antitrust investigators is nothing new. In 1935, the Justice Department wanted GM and meeting minutes obtained during the 1939 FTC investigation, they quickly discovered, as one memo related, that "with only semi-competent antitrust advice...they (the minutes) had been destroyed." Not surprisingly, GM insiders confirm most older memos and correspondence are regularly destroyed.

pendence are regularly destroyed.

The Nader Report on the *Closed Enterprise System*, and most importantly, the previously mentioned Snell Report fully document the failure of antitrust to tame GM. Snell's Report argues convincingly that the only relief against GM is to break its stranglehold on all aspects of ground transportation. It is the only antitrust case that makes sense, and we find Snell's argument repeated in earlier Justice Department memos. Why was it not pursued?

In 1949, decided to indict GM (along with tire, petroleum and other bus manufacturers) for using National City Lines (a transit operating company that they controlled) to buy up and convert electrical railway systems to buses around the U.S.

After three years of hearings on where the trial would be held, GM and its co-defendants finally managed to get the case located in Chicago, which, said one former prosecutor in the case, was considered by GM a better environment than L.A., which had been severely affected by having its Pacific Electric System destroyed. Moreover, "Chicago was the center of the major corporate antitrust law firms that could handle a case of this magnitude."

Those law firms must have been attractive, indeed. One of the lawyers working on the National City Lines case, Melville C. Williams, went over the hill to work for the firm defending General Motors (Pope and Ballard). Another antitrust division lawyer working on GM re-

lated cases, Robert Nitschke, then went to work directly for GM's legal division office.

GM, National City Lines, Standard Oil of California, Phillips Petroleum, Mack Manufacturing, their assorted subsidiaries, and a handful of other officers were all convicted. But it was a curious conviction. The jury found the defendants guilty of the second count indictment of monopolization, but not guilty of the more serious first count indictment of conspiracy. These "inconsistent verdicts" were the result of a jury compromise. Why was there such indecision? According to the FBI files, throughout the jury selection procedure, jury members and later their spouses received phone calls from someone identifying himself as representing the U.S. attorney's office gathering information about the jurors. Casual threats were made to the jurors, and the FBI started to investigate jury tampering. J. Edgar Hoover was particularly concerned to determine if one of the suspected jury tamperers was "identical with former Agent _____." The FBI files released to ITT contain no response to Hoover's concern.

Even more curious than the lengthy trial was the sentencing. Judge Julius Hoffman somehow found the monopoly conviction not deserving of comparable punishment he later meted out to the Chicago Conspiracy defendants. Fines of \$5000 were levied on the corporations which had made over \$13 million on their investment in National City Lines (NCL). Corporate officers received \$1 fines. Hoffman explained the insignificance of the sentence due to the "nature

of an economic crime [which]...is not in the same category of another type of crime."

What was the result of prosecution? Between 1949 and 1955, GM increased its market share of bus manufacturing from 48.5 percent to 58.7 percent. FBI interviews with transit officials concluded that the prosecution only drove "the persons responsible for the monopoly and restraint of trade practices deeper." But if GM's operations were now "underground," they were still effective.

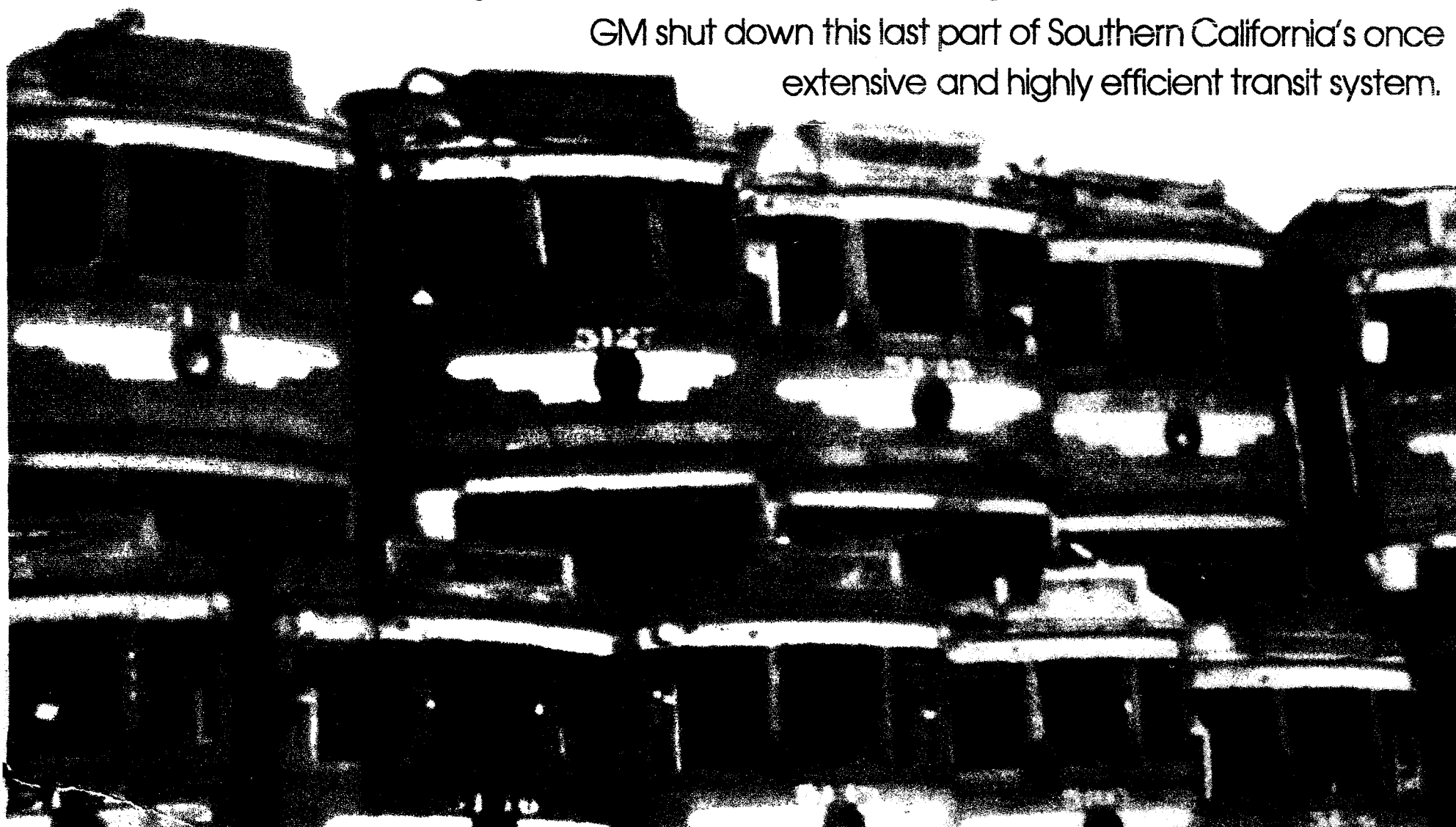
Another FBI informant reported that GM "is directing the behind the scenes appointments [in transit companies] to insure that GM equipment will be used..." Justice Department memos reviewing the effects of the case showed that NCL continued to buy all of its buses from GM and that the court's judgment contained no provision to restore competition.

GM's support and control of the American Transit Association, the principal lobby for public transit, was returned during antitrust suits; the ATA supplied GM with information and expert testimony for its defense. GM chief counsel Henry Hogan wrote to ATA president Anderson in 1956: "No doubt the ATA documents submitted by you will be of considerable value to us with some of the proceedings now and in the future...pending against us." As part of the GM strategy to stonewall the Justice Department's investigations, they got the ATA board of directors to decide in 1958 that "the Association should refuse [information] to the FBI."

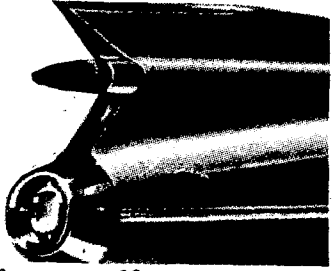
Charges against GM were filed in 1956

Continued on page 14.

Big Red Cars of Pacific Electric's Long Beach line rust in stacks after GM shut down this last part of Southern California's once extensive and highly efficient transit system.



GM



Continued from page 13.

for continuing to dominate bus manufacturing and public transit. The case never came to trial. A decade later, a consent decree was worked out by the Justice Department that avoided GM's divestiture of its bus operations.

The consent decree had no effect upon GM's monopoly power. In late 1978, the last independent competitor of GM went out of the bus business. The surviving producer, Flexible, is essentially a child GM.

A similar fate met the GM Locomotive Antitrust case. Cases were filed by the Justice Department in 1961 and 1963 charging GM with dominating 80 percent of the locomotive market. GM gained the monopoly in locomotive sales through inducing railroads to purchase GM diesel locomotives by promising them the business of transporting GM cars to market. GM also acquired other companies related to locomotive manufacturing, as it had in auto and bus manufacturing, allowing it to eliminate competition throughout that industry. In 1964 and 1967, these cases were dismissed.

Even in the classic application of antitrust law when the government sought the divestiture by Dupont Corporation of its controlling interest of GM stock, the law failed. The judgment found Dupont guilty of violating antitrust statutes, but the judgment was avoided through clever manipulation. Dupont was ordered to get rid of its holdings of GM stock by selling it to its stockholders. Most of Dupont's stockholders were Dupont family members, their various trusts, and nominees (street names given to avoid detection of stock ownership). This left the Dupont family with the largest identifiable block of GM stock. As a final plum, Congress gave Dupont a generous tax loophole that allowed it to avoid paying capital gains tax on the

sale of the stock resulting from the court's decision.

How did the Antitrust Division respond to this litany of failures? In 1954, 1955 and 1958, recommendations were made by staff members to conduct a broad ranging investigation of GM's extension of monopoly power into various transportation fields. Earlier strategies concerning "segmented aspects of GM's operations or practices...had not had...one iota of effect," in the words of one staff memo, but no such investigation occurred.

In 1962, Assistant Attorney General Lee Loevinger managed to start an extensive investigation under the Kennedy administration. The going was rough. The first three subpoenas were denied by the Southern Michigan District court, because of pressure by GM on the District Judge, according to one lawyer working on the case. Nevertheless, GM increased its auto market share from 49 percent to 56.5 percent by 1960. More important, its share of automobile profits was soaring (from 64.2 percent in 1949 to 73.4 percent in 1962). According to Justice Department memos, GM purposely kept its market share below the legal benchmark for prosecution (65 percent) in order to make more in fields less visible than automobile production.

By June 1966, the Antitrust Division was ready for action. Eugene Metzger had prepared a detailed fact memorandum for the Attorney General, and a draft complaint against GM's monopolization of the automobile industry. His work detailed charges of the previous 20 years.

Mergers were meticulously documented, exclusive contracts, territorial restraints, dealership relations, financial influence peddling, planned obsolescence, and the like were all demonstrated. Metzger concluded, "I think [the case] can win. It is compact and ready now. The facts are known and the proof is in hand... If this concentration and all that it imports cannot be reached by the antitrust laws as they now stand, the issue should be crystallized for the Congress..." Nevertheless, Metzger felt that the case was "too narrow." Like in preceding recommendations, he suggested a case encom-

passing the "unexercised monopoly power" of GM, its vertical integration, and its domination of ground transportation.

Neither the draft complaint, nor a broader indictment of GM suggested by Metzger ever appeared in court. In 1968, the *Wall Street Journal* suggested the case was squashed by the LBJ White House. In 1974, former Attorney General Ramsey Clark testified before the Senate Antitrust Subcommittee that he had never seen so much as an informational memo concerning the case.

In the coming years, successive waves of memos from Antitrust Division legal and economic staff members recommending prosecution all met a similar fate.

Who regulates whom?

The Antitrust Division is considered by most upwardly mobile lawyers in Washington as a springboard to prestigious law firms and corporations. Relationships between prosecutors and the prosecuted are often cordial.

According to one former member of the Antitrust Division in Chicago, for many years the Division refused to pursue perjury indictments of corporate officers known to be lying before the Grand Jury. "Perjury indictments were not the work of the Antitrust Division. Besides, it would harm our negotiations with the defense attorneys." Also, the Division would provide information to those corporate law firms and to corporations that sought to hire a division staff member.

Robert A. Nitschke is a classic case of this coziness. Nitschke spent nearly ten

years working for the Antitrust Division, before defecting to GM's legal division, whose war room he now heads. A Justice Department memo talks about Nitschke's duplicity before leaving for GM. When he supervised the early part of an antitrust case concerning GM's domination of the ball bearing market, he focused upon the "partially contractual, partially tacit understanding dividing the roller bearing market between GM and Timken Corporation." By the time Nitschke left to join GM's legal staff, the case concentrated on Timken and "abandoned the GM-Timken understanding."

There's plenty of evidence that GM's interests have been served by corporate and government policy at the expense of the rest of us. The consequences of GM's power over urban transportation will never be countered solely by pouring money into public transportation (which will eventually find its way back to GM pockets), but through sustained efforts to break that corporation's stranglehold over the production of transportation in the country. Antitrust efforts to circumscribe corporate power, and transportation policy are not separate items on the public agenda.

Corporations like GM survive. The popular movements that have historically opposed them rarely do. The only defense against GM exporting jobs to its Chilean plant when it doesn't like the last UAW contract, or raising auto prices, or eliminating rail alternatives, will be that the producers and consumers of transportation organize themselves.

Oil price decontrol

Continued from page 3.

These statistics establish another important point: decontrol, whether the money goes to the oil companies or the government, is a strongly regressive tax.

Wherever the money goes, some gross effects on the economy will be fairly constant—and bad. Wharton Econometric Forecasts, for example, predicted on March 27 that decontrol with a 50 percent windfall profit tax would have the following impact in 1980: a drop of \$15.3 billion (in 1972 dollars) in the real GNP, a drop in the real growth rate to 0.7 percent, inflation at 8.9 percent instead of 7.7 percent with controls, 7.35 percent unemployment, \$1.6 billion less in corporate profits than under controls. Carter is more optimistic, predicting an average 0.2 percent rise in the Consumer Price Index during 1980 to 1982, for example.

Despite the industry complaints that its profit (return on stockholder equity) is less than the manufacturing average and that they need more incentives, "the system is sloshing with profits," Alperovitz argues. Their declared profits are misleading. Partly the real profit is concealed by effects of the \$18 billion overseas production tax credit, the consideration of various investments as deductible business expenses for tax purposes, and tricks of accounting and sales between corporate divisions. Economist Davidson of Rutgers University also argues that oil stock equity is now inflated; people had bought the stock and bid up the price in anticipation of oil decontrol and thus have given the impression of lower profit.

In any case, the companies don't need more money to explore, according to a Department of Energy study done by ICF, Inc., a consulting firm. That report, still being completed, concludes that "the industry not only receives an adequate incentive for new discoveries, but generates sufficient cash flow at the domestic wellhead to fuel all of its domestic exploration, development and production expenditures."

Companies take cheap way.

Old oil prices—which will soon more than triple under decontrol—are already so high, ICF discovered, that the oil companies have preferred "developmental" drilling of old fields rather than exploratory drilling. This, the study argues, helps to explain why U.S. reserves have

been declining despite record rates of drilling. Decontrol could thus intensify that pattern, and if companies also hold back exploration until decontrol is complete, new oil discovery could actually be delayed by Carter's decontrol plan.

Instead of decontrol, Carter could have frozen prices, directly stimulated conservation and alternative energy development, subsidized mass transit, started an independent federal oil producing firm, formed a government oil purchasing agency to negotiate with foreign suppliers, eliminated the foreign tax credits or done many other things to increase supplies, to make U.S. energy use more efficient and to keep prices down. But Carter—and especially his energy advisers—have an ideological commitment to certain capitalist shibboleths that are socially counterproductive, perhaps even to long-term capitalist interests, however much they benefit the energy corporations now.

Ultimately, however, the question that needs to be asked is: who's going to make investment decisions? The decontrol decision was a watershed of sorts, since one can argue, as Thurow does, that "if you're not going to abandon controls, you'd have to shift to investment controls, production controls—really nationalize the industry." Carter has moved away from the option of more public, democratic control and in the opposite direction—"oil-corporatizing" the government.

Resistance to Carter's action is growing, but still faces a tough battle. Even such an unlikely figure as Sen. Henry Jackson, who fought for gas deregulation, has proposed extending oil controls. Other consumer groups and legislators are advocating legislation to open oil company books, to form a national oil importing agency, to put oil under wage-price guidelines if controls can't be restored, and—as a fallback—to impose 100 percent excess profits tax if decontrol prevails.

In July 1975, a candidate for President told the Washington Press Club that the "Gerald Ford/oil industry policy" of deregulation of energy prices was dreadfully inflationary, costing consumers \$30 billion a year, increasing unemployment, and sustaining OPEC price hikes. It would contribute little to conservation "because of inelastic demand for certain petroleum products" and it would "punish those with low and middle incomes while the rich continue to waste all the fuel they want."

"In short," candidate Carter said, "the Ford/oil industry energy policy is merely another example of letting the average citizen pay for politicians' mistakes." *Er tu, Jimmy?*

THE SHAH WAS ONLY ONE.

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LETTERS

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

BECAUSE OF THE GREAT IMPORTANCE of the courageous strike by the members of the United Steelworkers Local 6500 in Sudbury, Ontario, against the giant International Nickel Company of Canada, which recently passed the 200-day mark, I feel that some erroneous reporting in Doug Smith's account (*ITT*, Mar. 28) should be corrected.

The morale and the solidarity of the 11,700 workers waging this tough battle have been remarkable. That spirit will survive unfounded innuendo. You do a disservice to their men and women, however, in wrongly implying that the International Union is providing something less than full support for their strike. Let me provide some facts that Mr. Smith, your "prairie bureau chief," correspondent, either failed to research or deliberately chose to ignore.

Last Friday, April 6, Local 6500 Financial Secretary Andy Evelyne deposited in the local union's bank account a check for \$349,200— an amount provided each week for strike relief from the Strike and Defense Fund of the international union. That check brought to \$9,428,400 the amount thus far provided from this fund to the INCO strikers. Strike relief from the USWA Strike and Defense Fund had begun immediately upon the conclusion of the three-week waiting period specified in its rules. It will be continued as long as the strike goes on.

Voluntary contributions to the strikers from the other USWA locals, both in Canada and the U.S., from other unions, and from other sources, such as the New Democratic Party, which made a donation, now total about \$500,000.

In addition, some \$85,000 and a lot of toys and clothing were collected as a result of a special Christmas appeal to individual Canadian members of the USWA from Stew Cooke, the union's District 6 director. The INCO strike has engendered great support from the Canadian labor movement, as your article accurately stated.

This strike has been a crucial test of working people and the unions in today's increasingly frequent and bitter encounters with powerful multinational conglomerates—corporations that scorn national labor law and/or operate overseas, pitting the well being of their North American workers against underpaid workers in far-off lands.

As this is written, the Local 6500 Bargaining Committee is in Toronto to meet with INCO officials in a session called by the Ontario Ministry of Labor. While hopeful that a just settlement can be reached soon, the USWA—at all of its levels—is prepared to continue assistance until an agreement is achieved by the INCO workers in Sudbury.

—Russell W. Gibbons
Director, Public Relations
United Steelworkers of America

POLITICAL BLINDNESS

I WAS SHOCKED AND DISTURBED BY your article regarding the National Lawyers Guild entitled "Left-wing lawyers rebuff Maoists" (*ITT*, Mar. 14). IN THESE TIMES describes itself as being an alternative to "sectarian politics." Yet, the above title you used is a perfect example of sectarianism.

A primary aspect of sectarianism is interpreting events to fit one's own political purposes and viewpoints. The Guild convention was not a fight against what you pejoratively described as "Maoists." The article fails to analyze the varied political content of the four-day Guild convention. For example, the convention unanimously voted to make anti-Weber work a priority, and raised Guild con-

sciousness about anti-sexism work to a new level.

Your predisposition to lump all parties together also causes another mistake in the article. The "Anti-Imperialist Caucus" is described as being formed jointly by the RCP and CPML. That is absolutely incorrect and shows a gross misunderstanding of the political dynamics of the convention and the Guild.

There are a few other errors, such as stating that a hundred members attended the convention, when there were approximately 1000. But most of those errors are oversights or typos and not a result of political blindness.

Your article shows that sectarian practices can be found in all political groups, not just the ones of the other side.

The Guild is not an umbrella organization of pre-party and party groups. As the rest of your piece points out, the Guild has played, and is continuing to play, an important role in the struggle for fundamental social change.

—Paul Harris
President, National Lawyers Guild

Editor's Note: We regret the typographical error that gave a figure of 100 delegates. It should have been 1,000.

It is not sectarian to interpret events to fit one's viewpoint. Every responsible publication does that. (In fact, our failing is in not being able to do that consistently.) Sectarianism is narrow-minded attachment to a sect, secular or religious, without regard to the views of the population at large.

THE NEW YORK TIMES AND US

THIS IS MY FIRST EDITORIAL FAN LETTER. We subscribe to, or pick up copies of just about every left publication we can lay our hands on out here in Milwaukee. Without a doubt, you are the best left informational publication to be found. Why? Because you publish the news, hard news, otherwise not to be found. *Seven Days* is a rehash of AP, UPI with a radical gold giltting added, a lilt of camp rhetoric. *Mother Jones* is better but skims over. What we need are facts and more of them. The most in-depth news, hard news, to be found in the U.S.: *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, IN THESE TIMES.

I hate to lump you together with the capitalist press. But still, people read newspapers for one reason: to get the news. These three publications seem to have the most news.

—Olivia Edelman
Milwaukee

SEEING THE LIGHT

LEFTISM AND SOCIALISM ARE NOW reactionary forces. This is because they both favor government. (Some kind of government.) Instead of condemning all politicians, they condemn only some of them. Both favor voting, politics, running for office, etc., and these things are worldliness. They never solved any problems.

God is now governing the Earth and He has wiped out all crime. This is a sample of what He can do. He doesn't want governments getting in His way. They inevitably do.

God is also running all big industries. "Big business" is thus no longer a problem in America. Their executives tended to be worldly, so He took them over. America has always solidly wanted free enterprise, and to oppose it is the height of foolishness. There is nothing wrong in principle with free enterprise.

Russia abandoned free enterprise and didn't use capital, and it has held them back ever since. They need capital badly. They didn't trust the profit motive. But in free enterprise, in the free

market, the profit motive does no harm. I wrote about it in my letter to Irwin Knoll.

I have good will toward You and hope You will see the light.

—Don Bratton
Oxnard, Cal.

ABORTION DEBATE

THE RECENT LETTERS TO *ITT* CRITICIZING the abortion debate raise useful points. But I disagree strongly with their attack on *ITT* for printing this debate.

First, it is a major and careless exaggeration to claim that publication of this debate wrought "great political damage to the women's movement." Similarly, it reflects a wrongheaded view of the left press to propose that certain questions of major public controversy in society are out of bounds for airing in a socialist publication (and I would certainly argue this is true for any major issue of contemporary controversy—from abortion to the union shop). For our still tiny movement—widely feared in part because of public suspicions that socialists will not tolerate dissent—to censor contrary points of view is self-defeating. The principle embodied in free inquiry and free imagination applies here exactly: the way to refute spurious arguments and claims is to understand them and demonstrate their flaws (which requires their direct expression) not to fear and suppress them.

Second, the authors' unwillingness to see anti-abortionists' positions argued in "our publications" suggests a certain radical depersonalization of our opponents. However wrong they are, however outrageous their tactics at times (some of which—it is important to recall—are borrowed from the left), anti-abortionists are, after all, human beings. If an anti-feminist, anti-woman stance forms an important strand of motivation in the movement, so too, for many, does a desire to reverse this society's devaluation of human life. Such people are misused and misled, often by the right wing. But only by according their beliefs a measure of comprehensibility—while we also are firm and clear about our convictions—can we hope to build a democratic and humane movement. Similarly, only by understanding the contradictory nature of the traditions that generate the movement (most importantly, Catholicism), can we hope to reach those in the same traditions who can be won to support women's right of choice. In the civil rights movement, many whites sought—with encouragement from black comrades—to engage members of the Klux Klan in dialogue, because we understood that poor whites were potential allies of blacks.

—Harry Boyte
Minneapolis, Minn.

ABORTION

IHAVE FOLLOWED THE ARGUMENTS around the issue of abortion in *ITT*. I agree with those who believe *ITT* should not, at this time, be a forum for the anti-abortion forces, whether they be "socialists" or not.

If we lived in a society where everyone had a guarantee of having adequate housing, food, medical care, education, and equal opportunity, then a woman raising a child alone would not have to worry about poverty. She would not have to worry about child care because there would be 24-hour parent-controlled, public supported child care centers. She would not have to be concerned about unequal employment opportunity, because she would be valued as a whole person whose unique abilities can be channeled in any direction. She could be anything she wants to be. Men, in that society, would be equally involved in child rearing and responsibility. Each might have part-time employment.

Under these circumstances, the decision as to whether or not to abort a pregnancy would be based much more on real choice, rather than moral stricture

or economic or psychological necessity. Motherhood (Parenthood) under these circumstances would be a different experience.

Even then, some women would not want children. They must also be allowed to choose. However, in such a society a priority might be given to creating a safe, 100 percent effective method of birth control for both men and women.

Now, however, we must fight for our right to terminate pregnancies. We must also fight for socialism as a society where abortion will diminish in proportion to the care that the society takes of everyone.

Thank you ever so much for the Albert Einstein piece (*ITT*, Mar. 21). It was absolutely inspiring to me!

—Jackie Christeve
Watsonville, Cal.

SEPARATING THE ISSUES

A NUMBER OF ISSUES ARE BEING smooched together in the recent debate on *ITT*'s abortion debate. One is the way *ITT* treats feminist issues generally. Here I see the ill thought-out choice of a respondent to Elizabeth Moore of a piece with the sensationalist, hand-wringing treatment of the Rideout case and the wife beating issue, as well as the lack of discussion of feminism in articles about the Democratic party.

A second topic is how Moore should have been answered, an important issue if you think there are *ITT* readers who are against abortion for poor women. But I must confess I barely read the Mulhauser piece. I'm not interested in reading positions I assume to be close to my own.

Which brings me to a third issue: whether the Moore argument should have been printed at all. Here I strongly disagree with my comrades from California, CARASA and elsewhere. Every day I encounter students who are passionately anti-gay rights, anti-abortion and anti-welfare. The more I know about the arguments of the right, the better able I am to address the racism that underlies these beliefs of theirs. I thought about the Moore arguments because I encounter them, and the debate helped me to think about them more clearly. A socialist newspaper, it seems to me, should give you the information you need to do the political tasks you have in hand.

—Kate Ellis
New York

ISLAMIC GROUPS

ITOTALLY ENJOYED YOUR ARTICLE "Islam is Growing as a Third Force in Modern Politics" (*ITT*, Feb. 28). I would be interested in hearing discussion about Al-Islam in the U.S.

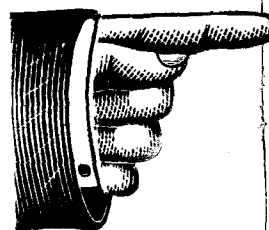
There are several Islamic groups in this country that have mass appeal to third world people. As examples, attention should be given to the World Community of Al-Islam in the West (formerly the Nation of Islam) headed by Wallace D. Muhammad; the Ansar Allah Community, in Brooklyn, New York; the Five Percenters, and other "orthodox" movements.

I would like to hear some discussion from *ITT* not only covering these groups as political forces or their influence on politics, but also how the socialist movement views these groups and the type of relationship that might develop between these forces.

In the name of free discussion.

—Aaliyah Shabazz
Daytona Beach, Fl.

**MORE
LETTERS
ON NEXT
PAGE**



LETTERS

A PLEASURABLE STEP

YOUR EXISTENCE IS ONE OF THE MOST vital elements in the community of leftists, union folks, organizers and progressive people in this country. You keep us all in touch with each other, as well as the world. I also appreciate the good looks of the paper—you have outstanding graphic designers, as well as writers and editors. It's with pleasure that I am becoming an *ITT* sustainer.

I realize you have limited space and I hope that as you grow in subscribers you can increase your length, for I think there's a real need for more cultural news coverage. The arts not only reflect the hopes, passions and bitterness of our society but serve to educate, to bring us together politically and culturally. You do a fine job on arts reporting but I'd like to see more.

—Mary Forrest
University City, Mo.

IS THE LEFT RIGHT?

MUCH OF WHAT JOHN JUDIS SAYS IN "Is the left always right?" (*ITT*, Mar. 7) is central and correct. It's strange that socialists, who believe theoretically in the bankruptcy of liberalism, cannot see its actual bankruptcy when it smacks them in the face. Thus they are driven to join the bankrupts and invent hypotheses of "swings to the right," cabals, conspiracies, and all manner of things that go bump in the night to explain the current behavior of the electorate.

It's even more unfortunate, as Judis points out, that people whose ostensible faith is in the masses cannot perceive that the people understand best that liberalism has run its course. A few numbers may illustrate Judis' argument: In the five states of Minnesota, Iowa, Colorado, New Hampshire and Maine, where conservative Republican challengers defeated incumbent, liberal, Democratic senators this last election, the Republican candidates received 55,664 fewer votes than Republican candidates received for those seats in 1972. The outcome of those elections was determined by the almost one million people who voted for liberal candidates in 1972 but who no longer are willing to do so. These people represent a leadership vacuum of enormous proportions that could be filled over time by the right wing or, with a great deal of hard work, by socialists offering relevant programs and proposals. It will not be filled by socialists offering dull rehashes of liberal vapidities.

Having said that, it may seem like quibbling to suggest that Judis is outrageously sanguine in his appraisal of initiatives, referenda and conventions. What makes Judis believe that the election of delegates to a constitutional convention and their deliberations therein would be substantially different from the current deliberations of Congress? I expect that they would be roughly the same, with the same mediocre results and slightly fuzzy chipping away at constitutional freedoms. Nothing drastic, but a perceptible deterioration. My estimate has to do with how the business of politics is currently carried on in the U.S., and how the deliberations of elective bodies are currently conducted and influenced. Without change in the forces and dynamics of American politics, why look for changes in the outcome?

Initiatives and referenda, with which I have had some experience, are another matter. These days, they are usually not a sign of health or hope in the body politic, but the last defense of a besieged population whose government is totally in the hands of the corporations. Sometimes they work. They hold the enemy and perhaps impact on the balance of power. But corporations can use them too.

Initiatives and referenda ought not to be endorsed as a political principle. On the level of principle, plebiscitary dem-

ocracy in the industrial age is the manipulation of people, pure and simple, as the careers of scoundrels from Louis Napoleon to Anita Bryant demonstrate. Plebiscitary democracy is a device for forcing political decisions in the absence of mediation by discussion, exploration, consideration and compromise, self-discovery or community.

Support for direct-democracy type mechanisms is part of the whole miasma of nostalgic populism cloying up the political dialogue these days, as folks try to resurrect magical measures from a mythical New England past—self-sufficiency, town meetings, public spiritedness, etc.—instead of confronting the political economy of late capitalism.

Let us build a socialist movement in America, offering real critiques of our current dilemmas and real programs and candidates to respond to them. That way nostalgia and voter apathy may be transformed into building the future.

—David Looman
Washington, D.C.

TUT, TUT

I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE EXCEPTION TO some of the comments made in Alan Wallach's petulant article about the King Tut show (*ITT*, Mar. 21). Wallach talks about the "enormous theft of Chinese art" by U.S. museums, and in general seems to equate museums and archeology with the imperialist looting of weaker nations. Yet why no mention of the August 1966 fire when government-sponsored Red Guards in Peking totally destroyed China's Central Institute of Arts, containing thousands of priceless artifacts from China's ancient history? Why no mention of "democratic" Kampuchea's crass destruction of ancient and revered sculptures in the Po Veal temple museum, or in the White Elephant temple? Or Lenin's rape of centuries' worth of icons, art, and historic churches? Or the later burning of the Kiev-Pechersk monastery, with its thousand-year-old archives, by the MKUD?

Since many of the revolutionary regimes Wallach evidently supports are committed to the razing of an old order so as to build a new society, it is truly fortunate that Western museums have been able to safeguard such a wide variety of artifacts from so many different cultures. I feel the cultural heritage of mankind is a birthright to all citizens of the planet; and the museums and traditions which help preserve this world heritage should be praised, not condemned.

I am also surprised there was no mention of the fact that the considerable revenues from the King Tut show did not accrue to Egypt's Department of Antiquities, as was assumed by the public, but went into that nation's general revenues, a good portion of which is spent on American and French arms.

—Matthew Bennett
Nashville, Tenn.

SCIENCE AND THE PEOPLE

MANY THANKS FOR THE SEVERAL pieces on Einstein (*ITT*, Mar. 21). As a scientist and a socialist, I find it refreshing to see progressive coverage and recognition of the importance of understanding the impact of science on our culture as well as our political and economic institutions.

Einstein's statement on socialism suggests many points of departure for a strategy designed to revolutionize science along with the rest of society. He directly challenges the traditional separation between scientists and the lay public, from both ends. Given the immense interface between science and society, it is essential that scientists begin to politicize themselves, to "express views on the subject of socialism" and other subjects which affect them as much as anyone, and to work toward demystifying the language and process of science. It is equally essential that non-scientists seek to understand science and come to terms with its impact on their lives and its political character.

Einstein clearly understood, even before many of our current technological crises had arisen, the limitations of technological solutions to social and economic ills, warning us "not to overestimate science and scientific methods when it is a question of human problems."

Finally, Einstein recognized the integral (but not inevitable) role science has played in capitalist development. It follows that revolutionary changes in society at large must include, and will to a significant degree rest upon revolutionary changes in the process and practice of science. Given this, a progressive analysis of science can and should play a vital role in our struggle for social change.

—Richard Denison
New Haven, Conn.

EVERYONE GAINS

IT TOOK COURAGE FOR *ITT* TO support the Carter peace initiative in the Middle East, when knee-jerk radicals are probably going to oppose it. Certainly there are dangers ahead. Not only with regard to Israel's opposition to Palestinian self-determination, but also with the strengthened U.S. presence in the area. But under the circumstances, the peace treaty is a step forward, for it moves a no-win stalemate off dead-center.

For all its rhetoric, the PLO cannot win its homeland through terrorism or force of arms. And the conservative Arab governments, when push comes to shove, would rather have an Israel they can make militant speeches against, than a radical Palestine state that might threaten their own reactionary rule.

It is important that the peace process be internationalized with Soviet support. In the long run, everyone gains from a neutralized Mideast. A singular American presence can only breed anti-imperialist agitation.

Even more important, the PLO must clarify its position. Does the PLO still demand a democratic, secular Palestine? Or, as events in Iran suggest, does it now favor an Islamic revolution that, in this context, means religious war?

The distinction between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism has always been a tenuous one, but principled and necessary. An Islamic PLO, opposing Israel on religious grounds, blurs this distinction and its position becomes reactionary and anti-Judaic. Israeli objections to dealing with the PLO must then be given greater consideration.

Still, Palestinian self-determination is the key to peace. Carter has broken with the American Jewish establishment and its hard-line Zionist position, and this took some political courage. The American left must support this initiative and encourage U.S. pressure on Israel to recognize Palestinian rights.

—Marty Jeter
Brattleboro, Vt.

MORE, PLEASE

I HAVE THOROUGHLY ENJOYED *ITT* from the beginning. I read it from cover to cover. For the first time in my life I read the "sports page," which, in conventional publications is simply amplified PR/commercialism.

The most moving articles have been in a category I call "roots of American socialism." The articles typically reveal socialist origins or beliefs in classic American (most often capitalist) symbols.

An example of this is *ITT*'s republication of Albert Einstein's essay on socialism, or more accurately, on "the essence of the crisis of our time...the relationship of the individual to society." Another equally potent essay was the recent exposure of the populist origins of the *Wizard of Oz*.

Emerging religions and cultures dominate prior religions and cultures by assimilating, stealing and reinterpreting old myths and celebrations to serve the new society. Consequently, soldiers of a revolution become guardians of insurance policies, Woody Guthrie's populist hymn

"This Land Is Your Land" sells airline tickets, and "blessed are the poor" becomes irrationalization for oppression.

Your articles make each remembrance of Einstein, each replay of *Oz* on TV, reminders of not only facts, but of beliefs and feelings that motivate me on a day to day basis.

"Seeing is with the heart"—I believe I read that in *The Little Prince*. Not only do I need facts, I need nourishment for my "heart." An American socialism, or an American democratized economy, needs to rediscover and create symbols with roots in our national history. More, please.

—Bob Fitch
Weed, Cal.

SELF-RIGHTEOUS AND SECTARIAN?

FOR REASONS I FAIL TO UNDERSTAND, David McReynolds and Kendrick Kissell want to resurrect the dreary history of the 1968-72 Socialist Party. Their letters (*ITT*, Mar. 21, 28) both attacked the integrity of those who did not belong to their caucus in general, and the political honesty of Mike Harrington in particular.

McReynolds says Harrington never participated in the anti-war movement: He never saw Harrington in jail. Had Dave charged that those who failed to follow him and the War Resisters League in civil disobedience and active resistance lacked his moral courage or followed the wrong course in opposing the war, I would concede part of his case. But to argue that his activity was the only anti-war activity dismisses hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of Americans who opposed the war in Vietnam. The McCarthy, Kennedy and McGovern campaigns, participation in the 1969 Moratorium and the early 1970s Mobilizations, the 1970 student strike, public advocacy for an end to the war and constituted vital anti-war work, in which Harrington and others in the SP participated. To dismiss this is self-righteous and sectarian.

As for Kissell's and McReynolds' contention that the Coalition Caucus of the SP was not anti-war, I speak as the sole staff person in the brief history of that ill-fated group. Within the SP, we advanced a consistent position for unilateral withdrawal; we were attacked within the SP and in some trade union and intellectual circles for "objectively pro-Communist" politics and for our work with the Trotskyist-dominated Mobilizations.

It never occurred to me and to a few dozen contemporaries in the SP and its youth section, the YPSL, not to be anti-war. We rang doorbells for Al Lowenstein, Robert Drinan, Ab Mikva, Phil Hoff and Joe Duffey. We identified with the anti-war politics of Norman Thomas and, yes, of Mike Harrington. When sectarian anti-Communist politics led the YPSL and SP majorities to oppose McGovern in 1972, it was too much for us.

A friend since those days recently remarked that he and I had an immunization against the politics of nostalgia. It's true. We also have reason to be proud of the limited, imperfect but honorable role we played in the anti-war movement.

And we have reason to be proud of the role we have played in helping to launch DSOC, which among its many other virtues orients to the politics of the present and the future and shuns the once fashionable parlor games about who was more pure when.

—Jack Clark
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

By Michael Harrington

On the eve of the 1980s, capitalism is in greater trouble than at any time since the Depression. As a consequence, American socialism could be more relevant than it has been in a generation.

Our history is in the process of turning a corner. The fundamental assumptions of New Deal liberalism, the "public philosophy" of this country since the '30s, no longer apply in a stagflationist U.S. It was thought that a judiciously controlled and gentle inflation could close the gap between an unplanned productive system, which periodically and necessarily outstripped its market, and a maldistributed system of wealth that was itself both a precondition and result of the production system. That strategy worked, though with enormous imperfections, between 1945 and 1969. It doesn't work any more.

So the long run is now, and immediate solutions require structural change. In this setting there are enormous possibilities for socialists, including even a qualitative change in our position in society. It is also true, but not so obvious, that we face difficult, frustrating complexities and great dangers. In what follows, I will insist upon problems as well as opportunities in the conviction that we need nothing less than an intelligent and informed militancy.

First, if we do not have "the" answer to the present crisis—there is no "the" answer—we have a clearer sense of its systemic causes and the radical changes needed to overcome them than anyone else. As long as private corporations dominate the investment process, so long will democratically elected governments—including liberal governments—defer to the priorities of the boardroom rather than to people. That means that measures to cope with that structural gap at the center of the system will be pro-corporate and, as a result, anti-social.

Washington socializes private costs and failures (Amtrak) and will privatize social innovation (the subsidized energy alternatives that will be turned over to the oil multinationals who created the crisis in the first place). It permits huge companies to administer prices while laying off workers, supports agribusiness and insurance companies to the detriment of farm production, food consumption and health. It only recently lowered the tax rate on incomes of more than \$200,000 so as to provide those worthies with "risk" capital that, more likely than not, will be invested speculatively, in land or rare stamps, rather than in the productivity it is supposed to finance. The critical thing is that these outrages are the coherent, inevitable and necessary products of a corporate-dominated economy and politics.

Moreover, we have a host of politically possible proposals that begin to deal with the system of injustice: price (but not wage) controls on oligopolies; the elimination of all tax benefits for runaway corporations; full employment planning, including the expansion of a productive public sector, funded by the social sources of capital—retained profits, pension funds, insurance monies—now totally under private control; national health; the transfer of money from inflationary and life threatening military uses to social investments; the federalization of welfare

funding; a publicly owned oil and gas corporation; and so on.

And yet, the existence of the crisis, and of a relevant socialist program to understand it and resolve it, does not guarantee success. The Socialist Party of the U.S. gained members when the Great Depression broke out—and then declined precipitously in the midst of the greatest capitalist collapse in history. Its ideas were often infinitely richer and much more right than those of the reformers who triumphed during those years. That means that the socialist ability to intervene in the present situation will in considerable measure depend upon how we make all the myriad interconnections, both programmatic and political, between our broad analysis and the specifics—the often unruly, sloppy specifics—of the society.

The issue of the balanced budget is a case in point. It arises out of justified popular resentment at high taxes and stagflation. The people accurately sense what we can document: that ordinary citizens pay a disproportionate share of taxes used to forward corporate priorities. But, in part because of the absence of a mass socialist movement, that left perception

has been given a rightwing focus: people have reacted against social programs rather than the reactionary way in which they are financed. That dangerous misunderstanding is, in turn, at the bottom of the demand for balancing the budget. The people attack the pittance given to social need and ignore the billions devoted to corporate purpose. Dissatisfaction with New Deal liberalism leads them back to Herbert Hoover economics, not forward to socialist-tending solutions.

That happens, not simply because the argument is dominated by the right, but also because almost everyone deals with symptoms rather than causes.

Socialists understand how a reciprocally interacting system of unplanned production and maldistributed wealth gives rise to problems that are normally met in a reactionary way. But, to put it mildly, we have not reached the people with that complex fact. That is one reason why the constitutional convention movement is dominated by rightists who, if they succeed in electing delegates on the basis of their reactionary nostrum, will then be able to enshrine sexism and racism in the Constitution.

In short, the old liberalism is dead, or dying, but its progressive successor is not in place, or even in the wings. It is, I think, a fantasy to believe that, after several generations of spectacular socialist failure, the next step in America leads to spectacular socialist success. The mass constituencies for social change are liberal, if by that word you understand a commitment to positive gains *within* the system, reforms that modify, but do not completely transform, the basis of corporate power.

Our transitional program must point beyond those limitations to the necessity of a new society with a totally different basis and address the immediate concerns of people who only vaguely perceive that necessity. Under these conditions, to insist upon all or nothing is to guarantee an outcome with which American socialists are much too familiar: nothing. Our radicalism will be proved by our ability to go with the people where they are and work with them for the most left variant of what is possible.

Clearly Carter must be challenged. I am hopeful about his efforts in the Middle East and see him as better than most on the campaign for nuclear and conventional disarmament (which is highly qualified praise). But his domestic stewardship is a disaster. He is following the Nixon program of 1969-71 under circumstances even less propitious than in those years and with results that are already far worse. His failure to develop a strategy to combat stagflation on the left of center is a major reason for the development of powerful and frightening fantasies on the right. He must be replaced.

"Waiting for Teddy," as I pointed out at the DSOC Convention in Houston, is a profound weakness of liberalism today and something we must combat—even though I, speaking for myself, think a Kennedy candidacy is the very best immediate possibility. DSOC, however, is not going to "wait for Teddy." We are going to work with Democratic Agenda to build a major meeting of the Democratic left on Nov. 17-18 to define a program in search of a President and a Congress. For if Kennedy announced—or any other serious alternative to Carter appeared on the left (Jerry Brown is an alternative on the right)—the democratic left must have a very specific program to keep that candidate, or President, from moving charismatically to the comfortable, empty Center.

Do I then think, as the *IN THESE TIMES* editorial implied (Mar. 7), that it is the job of socialists "to help elect a 'better' executive of the Corporate State"? Of course not. Putting the question that way predetermines the answer. But let me rephrase the issue: Is it the job of socialists to support a more liberal and humane candidate who is the focus of both the illusions and the socialist-tending hopes of a mass movement? Does it make a difference to neighborhoods, city councils and state houses whether the reactionary right or the liberals are in power? Are the basic determinants of the life of localities, workers, women, minorities, etc., established by national economic policy?

The Socialist Party in the '30s counterposed its excellent long-run proposals to the immediate, imperative and inadequate demands of the actual mass movement. If we repeat that error, we will repeat its failures too. The critical point, I think, is to focus on the possibilities for movement-building in 1980 and to realize that they are intimately related to the fate of liberal politics. An effective national challenge to Carter by mainstream liberalism is the best possible environment for building a militant socialist movement. If one focuses upon the candidacy and forgets the movement, that is to fall into the merest opportunism; if one tries to build the movement and forget about the candidacy, that is the way to irrelevance.

In short, we are back on the tightrope which history has rigged for American socialism to walk. But there are hopeful signs. There are new coalitions—Progressive Alliance, Citizens Labor Energy Coalition, COIN, and others—which we in DSOC hail, not the least because we pioneered the perspective of bringing together labor and the issue constituencies in Democracy '76 and the Democratic Agenda. The existence of these forces points to an imperative for 1980: Whatever strategy we adopt, we must adopt it together. And that means accepting some difficult limitations. Worker's organizations, to take one example, are rooted in the realities of daily life in a way that differentiates them from ideological organizations built around issues and programs. I insist upon this point, not because I am unenthusiastic about the new coalitions, but because I think that they will be the rallying point for the left for the next historic period.

History will not end in November 1980 and it is quite possible that many of our immediate hopes will be disappointed. Yet, if we function as the militant left wing of mass coalitions, if we relate our visions of the far future and our radical programs for the immediate future to where people are, we can, in this new crisis of the capitalist system, build a serious socialist movement in the mainstream. That, in the midst of all these ambiguities, is a straightforward program for struggle. ■

THE ROAD TO 1980

Ted Kennedy challenge could create climate for socialism to grow



John Judis

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THE UNKINDEST CUT OF ALL.

Carter's 1980 Budget

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Right now, Congress is deciding if the aged and disabled will lose \$600 million in Social Security benefits — while the Pentagon gets the M-X missile.

They're deciding if our children will lose \$527 million in nutrition programs, including school lunches — while the Pentagon gets the neutron bomb.

They're deciding if a quarter of a million young people will lose their last chance for a summer job — while the Pentagon gives millions in weapons to "friendly" dictators.

They're debating the 1980 Federal budget.

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ERROR

Continued from page 4.

"Plant operators at Rancho Seco had extreme difficulty in determining the true status of some of the plant parameters and in controlling the plant because of the erroneous indications in the control room," Ivan Green of Babcock and Wilcox wrote the Ohio utility. The letter recommended, among other things, "a close look at operator training and emergency operating procedures."

Paul Carosella, chief inspector for the state of California, said that he was not aware of the Aug. 9 memo and had not been in correspondence with NRC.

But Ohio's Jagger said, "We got that B&W Aug. 9 letter. It was a design problem that can be corrected." While Pennsylvania's Claar said there were no problems at Three Mile Island, Jagger said of the Davis-Besse plant, "There are design problems, but none that has led to a serious problem." Jagger believes the Ohio plant is more safely-padded than Pennsylvania's Three Mile Island; he said, "There are significant differences in design."

Jagger said that he hopes for "changes in the ASME code. I hope the code will react to Three Mile Island," ASME's Baron said, the "frequency" of inspections of nuclear plants in states that follow ASME rules "may have to be increased." The NRC said it will "review" the matter.

—Gary Nielson

Cogeneration is the answer

The Three Mile Island nuclear power plant accident has stirred new demands for a nationwide nuclear moratorium. And with these demands comes a need for a re-examination of the nation's energy options.

Sen. Carl Levin (D-MI) is preparing federal legislation to prohibit licensing of new nuclear plants until the government can get better answers about the consequences of radiation. At least one state (Massachusetts) has passed a resolution asking President Carter to institute a moratorium.

The economic, environmental and social impact of a nuclear moratorium would depend largely on the energy sources selected to replace nuclear power. It is clear that a moratorium is not at this time an option seriously considered by either state or federal officials. Neither Massachusetts, that takes 33 percent of its power from nuclear plants, nor Connecticut, that depends on nuclear power for 60 percent of its electricity, has any governmental plans for coping with such a contingency.

Nor is the federal government prepared for a nuclear moratorium. A department of Energy spokesman said, "The department has assumed we would use nuclear power."

The National Electric Reliability Council (that coordinates the nine regional power councils in the country) reports 13.1 percent of all electricity used in America in 1977 was produced by nuclear plants. The council estimates that, without a moratorium, this percentage would increase to 27.7 percent by 1986.

For the same period of time, coal use would rise from 46.9 percent in 1977 to 47.5 percent in 1986. The percentage of power generated by nuclear plants in the power councils ranges from zero to a high of approximately 25 percent in four of the nine regions. Total national reserve capacity among all the systems averages between 25 to 27 percent.

A recently released government study that documented the consequences of a temporary moratorium from 1985 to 2010, assumes that coal will be the most used replacement fuel.

Edited by Alvin Weinberg, of the Institute for Energy Analysis, *Economic and Environmental Impact of a Nuclear Moratorium* predicts electricity costs will rise as much as 15 percent due to a moratorium, but this estimate does not consider electrical energy produced from hydroelectric, solar or geothermal sources.

Regional economic impacts of such a dramatic price increase would vary wildly from region to region. New England currently pays 50 to 70 percent more for coal than the national average and would suffer the most. But the western states, that get only five percent of their power from nuclear plants and that have ready access to fossil fuels, would hardly notice a difference.

The study states that the economic effects of a moratorium on the nuclear industry and its workers would not be as devastating as might be assumed. About 50,000 jobs in nuclear and related industries would be temporarily eliminated. These industries also build equipment for other energy systems and could eventually absorb unemployed nuclear workers back into the system. The four companies that manufacture reactors all indicated that they would survive a moratorium.

Further, job losses in the nuclear industry would be more than offset by the increased employment in the coal industry. The Institute estimated that by the year 2000, 113,000 more miners would be employed and an undetermined number of additional workers would be employed in the transportation of coal.

The increased production of carbon dioxide from burning coal, however, would create new problems. If 20 percent of the world's fossil fuel is burned by the year 2000, the carbon dioxide concentration in the atmosphere might double, creating drastic changes in the world's climate, perhaps causing a hothouse effect. Global productions of carbon dioxide in the past 100 years have increase 50-fold.

Other environmental ramifications must be considered in a move to coal: increased accidents and fatalities from mining and increased use of land for strip mining.

The number of coal mining injuries and deaths would double from the present level. The study projects a "high-energy society" estimate of 8,058 injuries and 82 deaths per year in 1985 to 13,714 injuries and 98 deaths in 2010.

Projections for land use for the high-energy, high-coal-use society by the year 2000 go as high as 703,000 acres.

Other researchers have turned to solutions that do not rely on depletable resources. David Jhirard, a Harvard-trained physicist, will soon begin research at the California Institute of Technology to minimize the nation's dependence on light-water reactors and imported oil. Jhirard believes solar energy is the long-range solution. With his colleagues at the Union of Concerned Scientists, Jhirard has worked for almost three years on a blueprint for the transition from nuclear to solar power.

By the year 1990, Jhirard said, the most significant accomplishment could be a switch to cogeneration (turning heat from manufacturing processes into energy) whenever possible. Cogeneration is used by many industries in Europe and is one of the major reasons that West Germany, with a standard of living comparable to the U.S., uses only half as much energy. Jhirard maintains that with, with this method of conservation, we could create the equivalent of 200 one-thousand-megawatt power stations by the year 2000.

According to Jhirard, cogeneration could save the country a "couple of million barrels of oil a day and will buy us the time to make the transition to solar. The best thing about it is it does not involve anything exotic. This is off-the-shelf technology. We can begin today," he said.

But while we are beginning to use some alternative sources," said Jhirard, "what is absolutely necessary at this time is more research into solar at an aggressive pace. Our energy survival requires a very active, powerful push." If solar research can receive increased funding from government and industry sources, Jhirard predicted by the year 2000 the U.S. could generate 25 percent of its electricity using solar power.

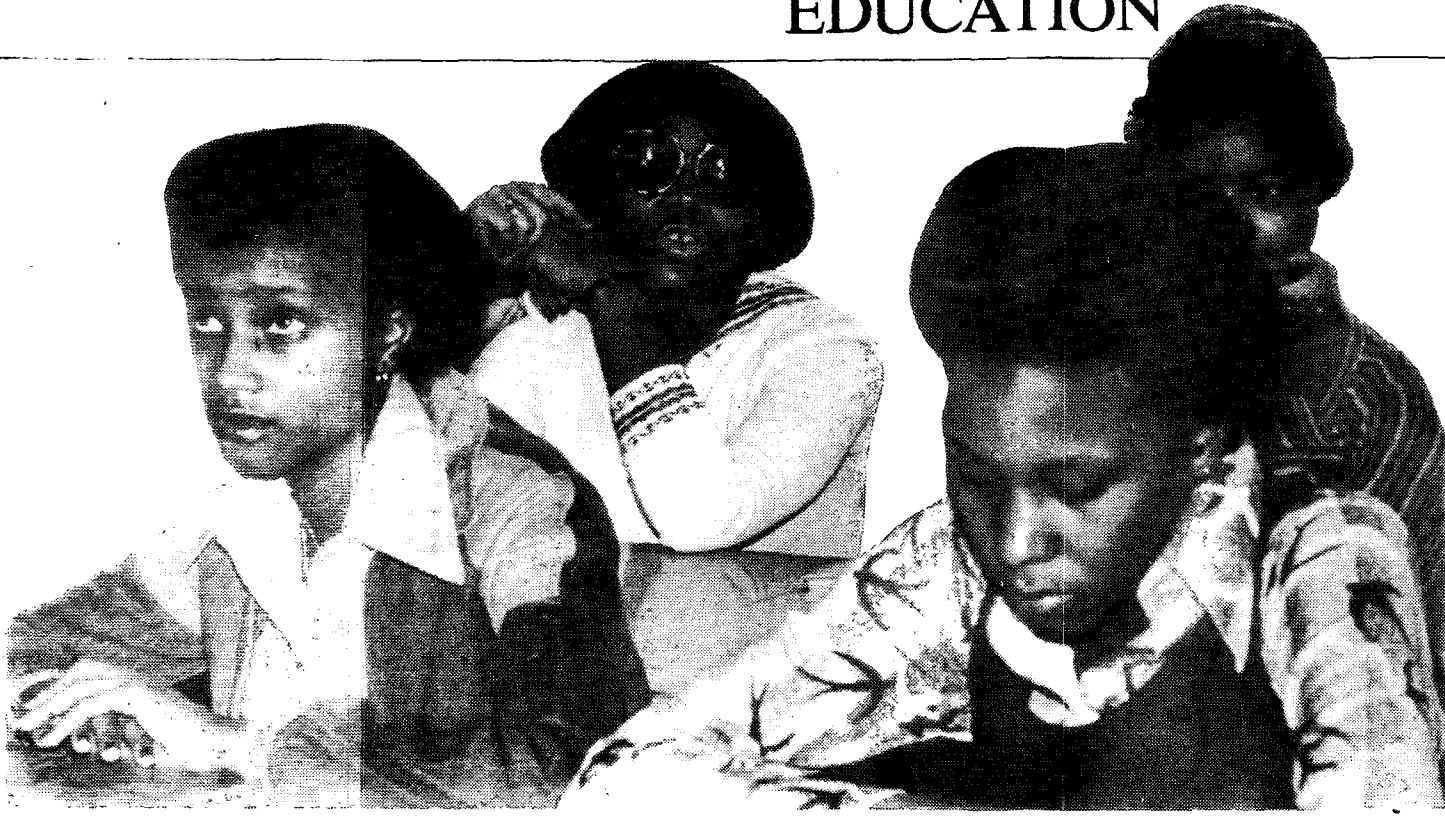
Jhirard said the UCS study compared the costs of a future all-solar society versus a breeder-reactor society. "Economically, the costs were similar, but socially and environmentally, solar has a distinct advantage," he said.

—Bev Eaton

(©1979 The Advocate Newspaper)

LIFE IN THE U.S.

EDUCATION



Jane Vennick

Why Juan can't graduate

By Joanna Foley

I STAYED IN SCHOOL AND NOW they tell me I can't graduate," says Victor Rosario, an 18-year-old senior at East Harlem's Benjamin Franklin High School. Victor is one of 125 seniors at his school (out of a class of 250) whose path to a diploma is blocked by the Basic Competency Tests (BCT).

This year, for the first time, all New York state seniors are required to pass the tests for graduation. Victor passed the reading part but failed the math section; he has trouble with fractions and algebra. "I can add and subtract and multiply," he says. "I could make it through everyday life. That I'm positive of. But I need a diploma because I want to join the Navy."

At least 7,000 New York City students like Victor, many of them black or Hispanic, are expected to fail the tests. They will get one more crack at the BCT in late May or early June. Then if they don't pass, in theory at least, they can go to summer remedial programs and try again in August.

But some observers suspect this summer's programs won't be funded properly or geared for student outreach. As a result, 12 percent of the city's 60,000 seniors may be left in limbo without diplomas. If Victor wants a diploma, he may have to follow the example of Billy Cox, a 20-year-old Brooklyn Tech dropout who studies on his own for a GED diploma while working as a security guard.

The BCT is supposed to determine whether a student has acquired basic skills in reading and math. Next year New York students will also be tested on writing skills. By 1981 the seniors will face an even stiffer test, the Regents' Competency Test (RCT), reputed to be the toughest competency test in the country. It is expected to flunk 30 percent of the city's students.

New Yorkers expect stringent tests from the Board of Regents. For years their exams were the key to the prestigious Regents' diploma for some students, mostly the college-bound. In 1975 the Regents, responding to widespread criticism of the public schools, established the competency tests.

Most are minorities.

Of the 7,000 city students expected to fail the BCT this year, one observer predicts 6,000 will be minorities. The probable discriminatory impact of the tests led to early opposition by groups as varied as the United Federation of Teachers, the

NAACP, the Board of Education and the United Parents Association. Finally, in January State Education Commissioner Gordon Ambach suggested awarding certificates to students who failed the BCT but met all other graduation requirements. Some progressive forces found it a meaningless compromise.

"We'd have a system where white middle-class students would get diplomas," said Dr. Kenneth Clark, a black regent from New York City, "and blacks and other minority students would get certificates." The NAACP objected to a document that would "certify people for second-class citizenship." The Public Education Association, one of the city's oldest educational watchdog groups, feared students would get certificates as they

parents and other volunteers to work after school as tutors. "It's an urgent, all-out emergency situation," says Amina Abdur-Rahman, education director of the New York Urban League. Another organizer hopes that the tutors will help create a community of concern around the schools that will continue after the current crisis is settled.

Tidal wave of tests.

As the state with the toughest tests, New York is the crest of a national wave of minimum competency testing that now has spread to 44 states. In a sweeping return to the use of standardized tests (once widely criticized as culturally biased), 20 states have already established competency requirements. Another 24 have

Activists claim that competency tests for high school students can produce racially-biased results. The tests also place the blame on the victim.

were pushed out the school doors, losing their options under state law to stay in school until 21 and to keep taking the BCT until they pass.

On the other hand, some suggested that a certificate would at least demonstrate a student's diligence and good attendance to a prospective employer. "Would the Regents have withheld all recognition of 12 years' attendance if mostly white students were affected?" wonders Carol Gibson, education director of the National Urban League.

The certificate controversy was laid to rest on March 1 when the Regents rejected Ambach's proposal. In a move that seems further evidence of their anti-New York City bias, they barred local school districts from continuing to award the certificates the city and other localities currently give to students who complete vocational programs.

Victor Rosario might still get his diploma in June if either of two last-ditch efforts to save the 1979 diplomas succeeds. The Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund filed a discrimination complaint with HEW, charging that the BCT had a discriminatory impact on Hispanic students. It also raised questions about testing Spanish speakers in English. "We're afraid the results won't come in time, however," says Peter Bienstock. "Bureaucrats move slowly."

Meanwhile, a coalition (from the NAACP to the Girl Scouts), is recruiting

programs in the planning stages. Although some form of competency tests cropped up in Maryland as early as 200 years ago, the current wave began in California in 1969, then receded completely when local communities waxed adamant about their right to determine their own graduation standards. Now a state law forbids setting up a single standard test that all graduates must pass. Oregon, following California's current practice, provides sample competency tests to local districts, which set their own standards. In 1971 Arizona mandated statewide tests for high school graduation effective 1976. Florida, one of the states most experienced in competency testing, gave exams to 580,000 students last year.

Several observers describe the new testing wave in terms they would apply to natural disasters. "A return to the Ice Age," warned Dr. Madelon Stent, a CUNY education professor. "Potentially devastating," says Dr. Jerome Harris, a Brooklyn public school superintendent. "A grand mess," predicts Joyce Page of the Washington-based Children's Defense Fund. The wave of tests, they suspect, will sweep away large numbers of black and Hispanic students, the poor and the handicapped of all races and students with learning disabilities.

Many forces converged in the middle '70s to create the competency test movement. Ironically enough, one major force was minority activists' growing demand

that the public school system be held accountable for teaching basic skills.

That demand was echoed but given a different twist by business executives who complained about illiterate would-be employees, by state legislators alarmed about rising school appropriations and by taxpayers worried about tax increases. Conservatives wanted to sweep failures out of the schools, cut costs and uphold educational "standards." Some left groups thought the tests could be used to demonstrate the schools were failing children and to organize to demand better results.

"When students get diplomas without the basic skills that should go with them, they haven't been served well," says Eileen Foley of New York's Public Education Association. "It would be better if a school were forced to service students who've put up with it for 12 years."

Activists are aware that they're often unable to control how the tests are used. The Urban League's Carol Gibson worries about the punitive use of tests. She hopes that more states will follow Michigan's example by using tests for diagnostic/prescriptive purposes. Competency tests begin there as early as the third grade. Scores are used to identify such group problems as math deficiencies rather than to punish individuals. But, unfortunately, more likely to prevail is the punitive approach demonstrated by Florida's testing program. Even after the state lowered its pass/fail cutoff point from 70 percent to 60 percent, a disproportionate number of minority students failed—42 percent compared to 8 percent for white students. They will not graduate.

Student as victim.

Civil rights activists are quick to point out that competency tests hold only students—the voteless group that holds less power than any other in the educational system—"accountable." "These tests manage to blame the victim for the school's failures," says Gerda Steele, the NAACP education director.

What debris will be left when the current testing wave subsides? Joyce Page of the Children's Defense Fund predicts an increased number of minority dropouts: "If students are likely to fail, are they going to wait around for attendance diplomas?" She also foresees increased unemployment among minority youths and fewer college enrollments. The NAACP's Steele reports hearing rumors of a national competency test in the offing.

Minimum competency tests are probably here to stay for the next few years. Some activists are optimistic about using them as a tool for school reform while others view them as an unpleasant reality. Both often agree on a common strategy. They are already organizing local and statewide coalitions to press schools for effective remedial programs. In Florida, where the NAACP has been very active, the state spent \$26.5 million for remedial programs last year. In North Carolina, the Coalition for Quality Education persuaded the governor to pledge \$3.4 million for remediation. There one out of every six juniors had flunked the competency tests.

Activists are also keeping a close watch over the tests themselves. They check on how the tests are administered and whether they're too demanding. "One test requires a student to fill out an IRS 1040," says Joyce Page, "but in the real world, many adults with advanced degrees need help with their tax forms." And when competency tests apparently produce racially-biased results, some groups are bringing discrimination complaints. The NAACP sued Florida's education commissioner, and SCLC has taken North Carolina to court.

Copies of a new 70-page citizen's guide to minimum competency testing by Hayes Mizell are available for \$3.00. To order, write to: Southeastern Public Education Program, 401 Columbia Building, Columbia, S.C. 29201.

Independent films on social issues—both shorts and features—are burgeoning. Grant money and grassroots organizing are paying for production. Now the problem is finding the audience.

over 200 copies in distribution in less than a year.

—*With Babies and Banners* (New Day), the story of the women's emergency brigade formed during the Flint sit-down strike of 1936, helps raise dollars and consciousness for working women's organizations around the country and is nominated for an Oscar.

Meanwhile, solid documentaries like *Puerto Rico: Paradise Invaded* (Latin American Film Project) and *Methadone: an American Way of Dealing* (Methadone Information Center) are becoming part of the repertoire in many film libraries.

The bottom line.

Films cost a lot of money to make, and funding sources like foundations are sometimes like dinosaurs—they can be dumb and move slowly. Most arts-oriented foundations seem to have a form letter: "We don't fund films." Meanwhile they pour millions into symphony orchestras, museums and other such institutions. Social change foundations are often just unimaginative. They have the same form letter, only their adds, "Sorry."

So in 1977 two activists with inherited wealth (David Crocker and George Pillsbury), foundation representatives, filmmakers, distributors and users set up a new foundation called The Film Fund, to promote the production and distribution of "quality films on social issues." Although The Film Fund pools money from different sources for three programs—grants, distribution support and services—most attention has focused on its direct subsidies to films (plus videotapes and slide-shows). The Fund's screening panels evaluate projects both for production quality and distribution possibilities.

Meanwhile, other grant programs have begun to put money into independent production, and socially conscious films have benefited from some part of this largesse.

The National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), a federal agency, gave major grants last year to two important films on left history. One is *The Best Years of Their Lives*, a documentary feature about the experiences of '30s American Communists by Julia Reichert and Jim Klein (who co-directed *Union Maids* with Miles Mogulescu). The other: *The Wobblies*, by Stew Bird and Deborah Shaffer, a feature combining music, scripted dramatic readings, archival footage and interviews with surviving members to tell the story of the Industrial Workers of the World. And, although it's not yet official, reliable sources say that three or four political projects will receive substantial NEH funding this year.

The National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) only recently initiated a production aid grants program for independent films. In its second year, the program distributed about a third of its \$480,000 to issue-oriented projects. Sample subjects: the '60s civil rights movement; the impact of industrialization on the Puerto Rican people; an investigation of the music industry; social, cultural and economic aspects of American TV; J. Robert Oppenheimer and the atomic bomb; women alcoholics; and the after-effects of the 1978 coal strike.

Are funding agencies opening up to films on social issues now? Not exactly, says NEA program specialist Alice Martin. "It's more a trend of the types of applications we're getting. We find people who've proven they can do what they propose to do, and more and more seem to be choosing to work on social issues."

The Independent Documentary Fund, sponsored by the NEA and the Ford Foundation expressly as a means for getting independent films on Public TV, last year awarded two grants to projects that dealt with controversial social issues: Jack Willis and Saul Landau's *Paul Jacobs and the Nuclear Gang* (New Time) about the effects of radioactivity on people; and *Deadly Force*, Richard Cohen's examination of Los Angeles police killings of civilians.

This year, according to coordinator Kathy Kline, almost all the projects will have social implications. Two seem especially likely to generate discussion, if they ever reach America's TV screens: *On Company Business*, a film about the CIA and U.S. foreign policy, directed by Allan Franco-Vich and Howard Dratch; and Stephen Lighthill's *Rising Up in Motor City*, a portrait of three radicals holding elective office in Detroit. Kline and Television Laboratory director David Loxton respect the filmmakers' right to control content and they have defended that right against the Atomic Industrial Forum, a powerful nuclear industry pressure group.

The American Film Institute (AFI) is the oldest grant-giving program to independent filmmakers. Some think the AFI is misnamed, and suggest that HFI—Hollywood Film Institute—would be more appropriate. (AFI's heavily financed advanced training film institute incubates

nascent Hollywood directors, and AFI publishes teaching syllabi oriented strictly toward commercial film). Several years back, AFI tried to bypass the NEA—which requires some funding for independents—and get money without strings directly from the government; AIVF successfully lobbied against the attempt.

The AFI has, however, a conscientious director for its only independent-oriented program. Jan Haag, the director of the grant program, works hard at getting a cross-section of people—including two Chicanos and a Native American filmmaker—on the screening panel. The panel came up with a remarkable mix of projects this year, including subjects such as black male-female relations, a re-enactment of a shrimp fisherman's strike in Louisiana (using descendants of people involved in the 1920s strike), investigations of a company town, agribusiness in California and breeder reactors. Altogether more than a third of the 38 grants (totalling \$340,000) were apportioned to social issue projects.

Relative to the large number of filmmakers searching, those receiving any substantial grants are few and far between. For example, in 1978 the Film Fund had \$126,000 to give away. But it received 420 proposals requesting \$6,050,750. This year it has 627 proposals, and the amount is closer to \$10 million.

The Film Fund pooling idea has gotten some of the dinosaur foundations to start moving—a few have contributed small sums to it. But it hasn't been much, and they feel entitled to tell everyone else who approaches them the foundation equivalent of "I gave at the office." The effect of this could eventually be to centralize a small amount of funding in one place, rather than to stimulate more giving from a variety of sources.

Although only a few dozen films are funded by major grants each year, many filmmakers depend on being one of the lucky few. And some have the cowboy mentality: they become independent in the worst sense, independent of the concerns of their audiences. They make films without thinking more than five minutes about who will watch them. Many want to be cowboy stars. They find themselves with some money and suddenly modest projects become feature films. Few, however, are prepared to try to distribute a 90-minute film—no small task, especially when it's still only a 45-minute subject.

Features and new subjects.

But feature films can also be an exciting challenge. The one distinct trend among current social-issue films is that many longer films are in production; and there are some interesting projects. Besides the two on left history mentioned earlier, at least two films are being prepared on the implications of the nuclear age.

The Atomic Cage, by Jane Loader and Kevin Rafferty, will combine elements of '50s government propaganda films, newsreels and entertainment films on atomic warfare, anti-commun-

ism and "atoms for peace". It is expected to be finished by the end of the year. *Dark Circle*, by Judy Irving and Christopher Beaver, will combine "documentary and drama, investigative reporting and personal reflection as it examines the dangers of radioactive contamination in the nuclear age." The filmmakers are still trying to raise money, but they have edited a 15-minute section to show for fund-raising, and anti-nuke groups are asking to use it in organizing.

Until recently, few minority filmmakers in the U.S.—with notable exceptions like Third World Newsreel, Robert van Liep, Haile Gerima, Jesus Trevino, Helena Solberg-Ladd and Affonso Beato—have emerged with popular, analytical work. For one thing, they've had a hard time getting financial support. Of this year's grants from the Independent Documentary Fund, for example, none went to minorities.

Three current projects, long in the works, show some promise of producing important films on Third World subjects. One is *Wilmington 10, Wilmington 10,000*, by Haile Gerima, a feature documentary about the Wilmington 10 and other prisoners in the U.S. It is finished, but not yet in distribution. Another is *The Manongs Film Project*, by Christopher Chow and a group of Asian-Americans. This will focus on a dramatic housing struggle, the fight of elderly Filipinos to continue living in San Francisco's International Hotel. Finally, *Valley of Tears* by David Sandoval and Hart Perry, will be a documentary about the farmworkers movement in Texas, with special attention to undocumented workers. A multinational group, Emancipation Arts, is producing it; their fundraising process has been a grassroots organizing effort. At parties and meetings and through

a newsletter they have solicited hundreds of small donations, and have begun building an audience for their film before it is finished.

"Audience development" is a crucial task—not only for this film but for all social-issue films. Distribution is still the great unsolved problem. The major political film distributor, Tricontinental, handles a few films from the U.S. in its diverse international catalog.

Recently some filmmakers like New Day Films, Green Mountain Post and Kartemquin (who made the excellent *Chicago Maternity Center Story*), have begun to take on this responsibility themselves. As well, a budding network of media activists—programmers, community organizers, librarians—may aid the development of distribution networks. Certainly, the current generation of good new films deserves at least as much energy, imagination, and dedication invested in their distribution as in their production.

Marc N. Weiss co-ordinates the U.S. Conference for an Alternative Cinema, to be held this June, and works with a collective to establish a "National Information Center for Social Issue Media." Address of distributors: California Newsreel, 630 Natoma St., San Francisco, CA 94103; Cine Manifest, 308 11 St., San Francisco, CA 94103; Cinema 5, 595 Madison Ave., NYC 10022; Haile Gerima, Film and TV Dept. 2600 4th St., NW, Washington, DC 20059; Green Mountain Post, Box 177, Montague, MA 01351; Kartemquin, 1901 W. Wellington, Chicago, IL 60657; Latin American Film Project and New Day, P.O. Box 315, Franklin Lakes, NJ 07417; Methadone Information Center, 215 Superior Ave., Dayton, OH 45406; New Time, 1501 Broadway, #1904, NYC 10036; New Yorker, 16 W. 61 St., NYC 10023.

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BOOKS

"My daddy, he laid my mama off."

By Jan Rosenberg

In the last month a major movie, book, and photography exhibit on textile workers have premiered. *Norma Rae*, the movie about unionizing textile workers, plays to full houses in major movie theaters around the country. Mimi Conway's recently published a book, *Rise, Gonna Rise: A Portrait of Southern Textile Workers* (with photos by Earl Dotter), and Dotter's current photo exhibit at Gallery 1199 (see back page) in New York have received less national attention but are equally powerful representations of workers' lives and struggles.

Rise, Gonna Rise (Doubleday, \$10.95) is a documentary account of the workers' lives, told largely in their own words. The book is divided into eight major sections: "Victory in Roanoke Rapids," "The Old Mill Town," "Brown Lung," "Civil Rights," "The Company," "The Union," "He Ain't Hurting No More," and "A New Day." Most sections include several vignettes that interweave the life histories of particular people with some aspect of the major Southern industry—textile manufacturing.

Mimi Conway's novelistic style complements her subject and brings it to life on the page. She provides vividly descriptive background material, beautifully written, to introduce characters who then speak at great length in their own words. Conway's introduction to Kaspar Smith illustrates the tenor of her writing:

"I had met Kasper Smith at the union hall, too, another veteran of past labor wars. He had been on the picket line in Roanoke Rapids during the 1934 General Textile Strike. Smith was a wisp



Earl Dotter's photographs accompany Mimi Conway's verbal portraits of textile workers.

of a fellow with a small face, peaked cheeks, and round glasses. He had a mild, high pitched voice, and, at first glance, something of the demeanor of Caspar Milquetoast. He wore a well-ironed plaid shirt, a pair of stiff blue jeans hiked way above his waist, and, snapped into one of the loops, a leather sheath with a large knife."

Throughout the book, as in *Amoskeog* (another recent book about a mill town) a reader is struck by how thoroughly the

mill dominates every aspect, even the most intimate, of the workers' lives. Family relationships are redefined by job relationships: brothers become each others' bosses and children oversee their parents. One of Conway's informants recalled how tensions between work and family gnawed at her parents' relationship:

"My daddy was my mama's overseer. I remember one time Mama went to the bathroom, and Daddy sent her home without pay for it. Another time, they

had a layoff. Rather than lay off anybody else, he laid Mama off. She'd worked 17 years in the mills, and she was mad. But he said he didn't want nobody to say he made a difference between Mama and the help."

Conway's verbal portraits are reinforced by the photographs of Earl Dotter, "a contemporary Lewis Hine." Dotter's photos, on exhibit at Gallery 1199 (310 W. 43 St., NYC) through April 23, provide powerful visual evidence of the workers' lives and

communities. Strong images of field and mill workers' faces, intimate interior and exterior shots of their homes and churches, and group portraits of men and women convey the wholesome dignity of everyday life. Dotter directly depicts the despair and suffering of textile workers afflicted with brown lung disease in photographs that evoke feelings of outrage among the viewers. One grim portrait (reprinted as the cover photo) is subtitled, "Louis Harrell, victim of brown lung, five days before dying." Another shows Harrell lying in a hospital bed, hooked up to an oxygen tank, displaying his J.P. Stevens 25 year retirement plaque. One of Dotter's strongest photographs portrays the tenacity and will of three union workers in Roanoke Rapids, a white woman and two men, one white, one black. The proud, tough stance, the set of their jaws and shoulders, and the straight-ahead, direct stare visually symbolize the solidarity and strength that textile workers must continue to exhibit and draw on in their protracted battle for decent wages, health conditions, and job security. This photograph is simply titled, "Three who are fighting for better working conditions in the mills."

Dotter's photos, whether of mine workers (as in *In Our Blood* by Matt Witt, photographs by Earl Dotter), textile workers, or migrant workers, never lose sight of their political meaning. Unlike the recent cinematically dazzling movie on migrant workers, *Days of Heaven*, the aesthetic does not overwhelm the social.

Together the evocative text and compelling photographs provide a memorable glimpse into the lives of Southern textile workers. ■

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TELEVISION

Vietnam comes home on the small screen

By Al Auster

Television made the war in Vietnam America's first "living-room war." But despite miles of newsreel footage, Americans never got an accurate picture of the war. For the most part, it was a replay of old WWII movies, with Americans constantly moving forward and inflated casualty counts. The real war was one of ambushes, sappers, fatigue, disease and constant anxiety—a war that, in the words of Vietnam veteran and playwright David Rabe (*Streamers*), "defoliated sanity."

If TV war coverage was often inaccurate, its assessment of the personal cost to Americans and Vietnamese families was practically nonexistent. Now, six years after American forces withdrew from Vietnam and four years after the victory of the NLF and the North Vietnamese, ABC-TV has finally decided to tell one of those stories. On Sunday, April 22, ABC will broadcast the made-for-TV movie of C.D.B. Bryan's novel *Friendly Fire*.

Bryan, a stepson of novelist John O'Hara, originally wrote the story for the *New Yorker*, and published it in book form in 1976. *Friendly Fire* is the real-life story of Sgt. Michael Mullen, eldest son of a conservative Iowa farm family, killed in Vietnam in 1970 by a wayward American artillery shell.

Friendly Fire was directed by David Greene (*Rich Man, Poor Man; Roots I*) and written and co-produced for TV by Fay Kanin (*Hustling*). Kanin does an excellent adaptation. Except for deleting the Mullens' genealogy and the insensitivity of the Catholic priest, and changing Michael's commanding officer's name from Schwartzkopf to Schindler, the film is almost an exact copy of the book. As a result, it also has its major flaws. The most important of these was Bryan's sudden turnabout two-thirds of the way through the book.

Changing focus.

Initially he passionately detailed the Mullens' disillusionment with the bureaucratic callousness of the Army (among other things, they refused to let the Mullens have Michael's dog tags and held up his back pay because of some unpaid debts). Then he recounted their growing radicalization (returning President Nixon's xeroxed speeches sent as a condolence letter; purchasing antiwar ads in the local newspaper; and finally Peg Mullen's participation in an antiwar demonstration in Washington and her confrontation with lying Defense Department officials). After their phone was tapped, the Mullens realized that, to the government, they were now the enemy.

Not content with the drama of the growing hostility of a patriotic family to their government, Bryan tilted the book in the direction of classical tragedy. He showed how the Mullens' search for the truth became an obsession and began to alienate not

only their friends and neighbors but their children as well. In addition to this bit of Midwest Antigone, Bryan then thrust himself into the picture as the writer searching for the truth.

We never get a sure sense of which drama Bryan is most interested in: the human tragedy of the Mullens; the national tragedy of Vietnam; or a writer's search for truth, the attempt to maintain objectivity. Nevertheless, Bryan was honest enough to let Peg Mullen have the final word when she cried out in frustration over his ambiguity, "When you lose your son in a war, there's only one side—the antiwar side."

Although *Friendly Fire*, like the book, does become needlessly confusing and unfocused at some levels, it succeeds admirably on others. At its best it gives a sense of the despair, frustration, and disillusionment that the war brought to Americans. Its major asset here is Carol Burnett as Peg Mullen. Burnett, who has begun to stake out a career



Carol Burnett and Ned Beatty portray parents of an American soldier who died by "friendly fire."

Friendly Fire gives a sense of the frustration and disillusionment the Vietnam war brought many Americans.

for herself as a serious actress (*The Wedding*), is a woman alternatively abrasive, cocky, maternal, protective and then suddenly lonely and guilty. As her husband Oscar "Gene" Mullen, Ned Beatty

(*A Question of Love*) is by turns belligerent, furious, impatient, confused, exhausted and often reduced to inchoate tears. And Sam Waterston (*Interiors*) gives a solid performance as a

writer torn between the opportunity to tell a damn good story, his feelings for the Mullens, and his desire to tell the truth.

Director Greene never lets the film become overwrought. His direction, in fact, often leans on the side of the understated. He lets the big scene of Burnett's first view of her son's body become merely a handshaking on the rim of the coffin.

If *Friendly Fire* is not satisfying in every detail, it is a step forward after all those years of TV's distortion of the war. ■



The Fabulous Poodles have a satiric edge.

The return of the rock'n'roll wiseass

By Bruce Dancis

The jesters in rock have been few and far between. The Coasters were one of the first groups to write with humor and sass, and "Yakety Yak" (1958), "Charlie Brown," and "Along Came Jones" remain as funny as ever today. Sixties satirists like the Kinks' Ray Davies and Frank Zappa (whose new album is entitled *Sheik Yerbouti*) continue, but others of their generation, such as the Bonzo Dog Band, had their bones buried long ago. But the recent revival of fervid and powerful rock has been accompanied by a startling upsurge in parody.

Last year the Rutles, the creation of Monty Python's Eric Idle and former Bonzo Neil Innes, poked fun at our most sacred memories of the Beatles, like rock archivists run amok. Nick Lowe's first solo album was filled with oddball songs such as one about little doggies devouring their mistresses. Throw in the Boomtown

Rats, Devo (See *ITT*, Nov. 15, 1978), the Rubinoos, and a wierdo named Tonio K—his debut album features a new dance called "The Funky Western Civilization"—and, by God, we've just about got ourselves a movement!

Leading the charge are Cheap Trick and the Fabulous Poodles. They share with their brethren a remarkable self-consciousness. Well-schooled in the riffs and rhythms of rock history, their music gently plays with these patterns.

Trick or treat.

Poised between pandering to the worst aspects of rock image-making and subverting those images and poses, Cheap Trick has emerged in recent years as one of America's most engaging rock acts. Their new live album (fourth overall)—*Cheap Trick at Budokan* (Epic)—has quickly risen high on the charts.

Each of their album covers emphasizes their visual diversity, a diversity bordering on schizophrenia. Vocalist Robin Zander

and bass player Tom Petersson, classic rock pretty boys, grace the front side of every cover. But lurking on the back are two exotic personae. Drummer Bun E. Carlos looks like he just stepped out of a Wall Street office, wearing his suit, white shirt, tie, and too-short-to-be-chic hair. Yet even Carlos' look pales beside that of guitarist/songwriter/leader Rick Nielsen, whose cardigan sweater, bow tie emblazoned with Cheap Trick's logo, and baseball cap make him look like the archetypal high school dork.

Nielsen's appearance is just the beginning. He also bombards his audiences with guitar picks, mounts a mini-platform and rocks back and forth from the waist in parody of melodramatic lead guitarists, and dons and plays up to four different guitars during the same song.

Cheap Trick offers something for nearly every rock fan. They appeal to those looking for idols (check out the screams on the new album). They present enough fun, games and energy to capture the raw meat crowd. Nielsen's stage lampoonery and sardonic, wise-cracking lyrics—especially on their last studio album, *Heaven Tonight*—are capable of provoking thought. And their powerful melodic sound takes in a range of tastes from heavy metal to New Wave.

Unfortunately, the album, recorded during a 1978 tour of Japan, doesn't reveal the band at their best. It's not bad, as live albums go. It demonstrates how much Zander sounds like Paul McCartney (the screaming rocker McCartney, not the cutesy-poo, sappy pappy McCartney) and how expertly Carlos fills in the holes left by Nielsen's clowning. But most of the songs here can be heard more clearly and with far greater depth of sound on Cheap Trick's second album, *In Color*. And since much of Cheap Trick's humor is visual, a large aspect of their appeal doesn't come across on vinyl. ■

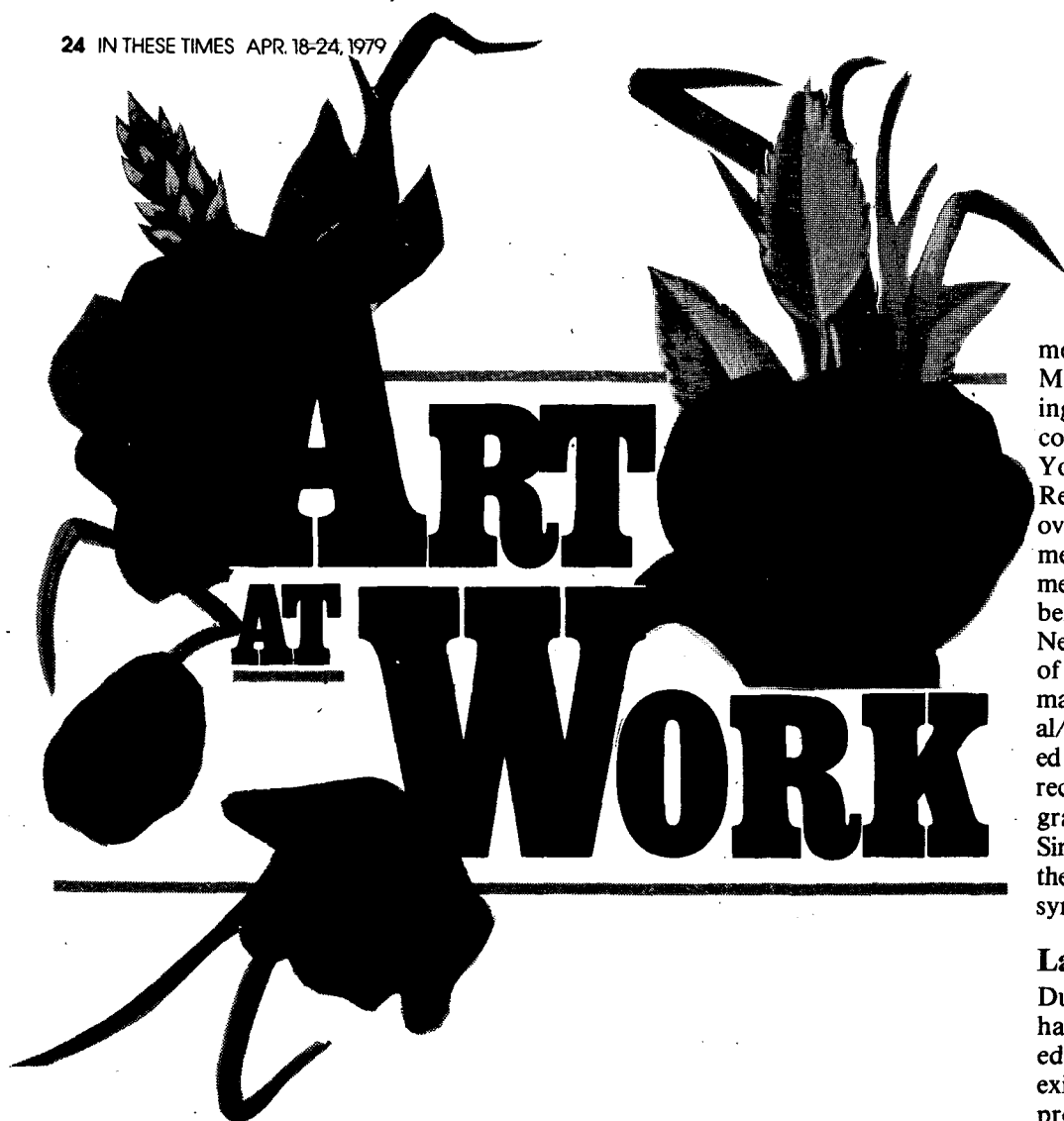
Pedigreed satire.

England's Fabulous Poodles share some of Cheap Trick's visual diversity. Lead singer and co-songwriter Tony de Meur's thick glasses and constantly mugging puss give him a distinctive look, as has Clark Gable lookalike, Bobby Valentino. But the Poodles have more of a consistently satirical edge than does Cheap Trick in their songs on their American debut album, *Mirror Stars* (also on Epic).

"Mirror Star" explores the virtues and rewards of playing your broom (oops, I mean your guitar) in front of the mirror. "Chicago Boxcar" extolls the merits of a particular haircut, while the difficulties of holding down a job are recounted in "Work Shy." Yet the band can also show affection, as in their paean to the motion pictures of their youth, "B Movies," and a song not on the album, "Rum Baba Boogie," which de Meur describes as a "love story about a boy who's enraptured by a cake."

Valentino, a multi-instrumentalist who showed himself equally adept on guitar, mandolin, and electric violin during a recent concert, gives the Poodles greater possibilities in sound than most bands possess. Their music recalls classic mid-'60s rockers such as the Kinks, the early Who, and the Rolling Stones in their *Aftermath* period.

The rise of rock humor is probably related to the more general comedic renaissance of the last few years—Woody's Oscars, "Saturday Night Live," the Steve Martin phenomenon, and the sharp increase of comedy nightclubs being the most obvious manifestations. Whether such humor is socially subversive or acts as a safety-valve is a matter deserving discussion. But while such questions get discussed, we'll be able to roll with laughter to the expanding number of rock jokers. ■



By Jan Rosenberg & Fred Siegel

BREAD AND ROSES," LONG A rallying cry for feminist and union activists dedicated to the cultural as well as material needs of people's lives, was coined as a strike slogan by young women textile workers in Lawrence, Mass., in 1912. It is fitting that this should be the name of the massive cultural program recently launched by New York's District 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, 80 percent of whose members are women. From the earliest beginnings of feminism and the labor movement, women have repeatedly focused on both bread and roses.

The New Left in the '60s focused on questions of "culture" while shunning unions, the bread-winning institutions of the Old Left. For their part, most unions either ignored or were openly contemptuous of the cultural thrust of the '60s. But in recent years, the lines between generations have softened; faced with the danger of being run over by the onrushing corporate express, the bread and roses have gradually been reunited.

Bread and Roses, the most visible symbol to date of that reunion, is the brainchild of Moe Foner, executive director of District 1199. It began in January 1979 with an international children's painting exhibit and is now in full swing. Over its two-year span it will feature performances by Harry Belafonte, Judy Collins, Odetta, Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee, Sam Levinson, and other superstars, as well as musical, theatrical, and poetry reviews during lunch hours in Union hospitals. Also scheduled are major painting and photography exhibits at the permanent 1199 Gallery, "dialogs" on the contributions of Martin Luther King Jr., a Labor Day street fair, and an original musical review based on oral histories of 1199 members (now being taped in weekly oral history workshops at union headquarters).

One of the many highlights of *Bread and Roses* will be "The Working American," a major painting show by American artists depicting American workers from colonial times to the present. "The Working American" is being assembled by Patricia Hills, adjunct curator at the Whitney Museum; Hills and David Montgomery, the eminent labor historian, will write introductions to a 96-page illustrated catalog of the exhibit. After its two-month stay at the 1199 Gallery in New

York, it will tour the U.S., greatly extending the reach of "Bread and Roses."

The task force reads like a "who's who" in New York's political culture and includes Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, Herbert Gutman, Michael Harrington, Irving Howe, Eve Meriam, Walter Rosenblum, Piri Thomas, and Brendon Sexton.

Most performances and exhibits, like the conferences, seminars, and especially the series of articles by artists and scholars that will appear in *1199 News* over the next two years (and then be reprinted as a pamphlet for other unions) are meant to engage rank and file members in broad discussions about the meaning of the arts in relationship to labor and everyday life. The current exhibit of Earl Dotter's photographs of textile workers, for example, includes two major panel representations—one featuring first-hand reports by Southern textile workers and one featuring Earl Dotter on the politics and esthetics of his work.

Cultural groundswell.

The incentive and support for *Bread and Roses* are part of a much broader swell of interest in working-class culture and labor education among unions, radicals and, more recently, among the educational establishment. Faced with the growing force of the right and especially with the increasingly aggressive anti-union campaign of the last two years, the labor movement has been forced to build bridges to other left social movements and organizations while popularizing union activity, if not activism, among the public at large.

Through the photo exhibit of textile workers and related programs, including promotion of Mimi Conway's powerful new book, *Rise Gonna Rise: A Portrait of Southern Textile Workers* (see review on page 22), District 1199 calls public attention to the struggles of textile workers and particularly the Amalgamated's campaign against J.P. Stevens. Special efforts are being made to involve students from New York's labor colleges in Bread and Roses events. Sympathetic faculty from the City University of New York are trying to integrate *Bread and Roses* programs into their curricula, and finally, public school teachers urged on by the United Federation of Teachers will be bringing classes to the exhibits, where gallery instructors will provide a guided tour and lead discussions.

Parallel programs emphasizing working-class life and culture are now being supported in some measure by govern-

ment arts and humanities bureaucracies. Major historical photo exhibits on working women have won state humanities council backing in Illinois and in New York; documentary filmmakers Julia Reichert and Jim Klein recently received over \$100,000 from the National Endowment for the Humanities to make a documentary film on Communist Party members in the 1930s; the Labor Theater in New York continues to win the support of the New York State Council on the Humanities; and "Threads," the educational/humanities program of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, received \$150,000 for their one-year program on work, family and community. Since Joseph Duffy was appointed head of the NEH, labor has received a much more sympathetic hearing in those quarters.

Labor education.

During the last six or seven years there has been a tremendous growth in labor education—both in programs tied in to existing universities and non-accredited programs initiated and controlled by the unions. In addition to the forces mentioned above, demographic shifts have sent many educational institutions scurrying to identify and recruit "traditionally bypassed populations," e.g. older students, minorities, and especially union members whose unions will foot all or part of their tuition costs.

Thq State University of New York/Empire State College Center for Labor Studies, Hofstra 65 Institute for Applied Social Science, and AFSCME's labor col-

leges represent current attempts to develop college programs that speak directly to the needs and interests of union members. Even the United University Professions/AFT is attempting to organize a labor college.

"Threads," the ACTWU program in the humanities, offers union members eight-week long seminars in "work," "family," and "community." In all of these programs there is a conscious effort to build on the knowledge and perspectives that the members bring to their studies. Since "Threads" began last year, discussion leaders have found that participants want even more active involvement in their studies; discussion groups are more likely to include localized resources and original poetry and photography workshops. Like *Bread and Roses*, "Threads" is supported primarily by the NEH.

Within this welter of new programs, *Bread and Roses* is the largest, most ambitious, and well organized. As George Weissman, the vice chairman of Phillip Morris and a corporate arts leader, wrote to Moe Foner, "I've always felt that labor was way behind the corporations in recognizing the important role the arts and humanities can play in our nation.... Now at last your union is taking a much needed step forward in this direction."

Bread and Roses is a limited challenge to the world as brought to you by Mobil, Exxon, and friends. Unions across the country will be watching it and if it succeeds they too may think of moving forward from the back of the cultural bus. ■



This poster advertises the cultural program of New York's District 1199